

# The American Historical Review

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# The American Historical Review

## THE HISTORIAN THEOPOMPOS

### HIS POLITICAL CONVICTIONS AND HIS CONCEPTION OF HISTORIOGRAPHY

#### I

GREEK historiography in the fourth century B. C. has a special interest because it was then that historical interpretation for the first time became strongly influenced by, and in some cases almost completely subservient to, the political tendencies and convictions of the leading historians. No historian, of course, has ever been able to keep his work completely free from the influence of his political predilections and prejudices. Herodotos has been accused of pro-Athenian bias, and he naturally favored the cause of the Greeks in the Persian wars. But he was not sufficiently bound up with one special city, with one class or party, and—what is more important—there was in him too much of the Ionian desire for knowledge for its own sake, to allow him to make his work as a whole subservient to any political tendency. Thucydides, on the other hand, felt passionately concerning the political issues of his time and may not always have been quite unprejudiced in his judgments on some of the leading politicians of the period of the Peloponnesian War. But his passion for investigation of the truth and his desire to deceive neither himself nor others were stronger than his political passion and prevented him from interpreting everything in the light of his political prejudices or of abstract political principles.

The case is very different even with Xenophon, the earliest of the fourth century historians. His aversions and predilections, his admiration for Agesilaos, his love for old-time Sparta, the conflict between this love for the country of his choice, on the one side, and a native Athenian patriotism of which he never could completely free himself, on the other—all this stands out very clearly in all parts of his work. Yet the influence of these sentiments appears rather in his presentation of details

and of single events than in his conception of the history of the epoch as a whole.<sup>1</sup>

It is the historians of the middle of the fourth century who begin to make the interpretation of history entirely subservient to their political theories and convictions. Ephoros of Kyme wrote a special introduction to every one of the many volumes of his work in order to point out what political theory could be proved or what political principle could be illustrated by the history of the epoch which he was going to describe. Philistos of Syracuse, though an admirer of Thucydides and perhaps the ablest imitator of his methods of investigation into a more remote past, wrote the later parts of his work with the professed aim to prove that tyranny was the best type of government, at least under the conditions prevailing in Sicily at that time.

While, however, for this reason, the works of the historians of the fourth century are in many respects much less unpolluted sources of historical information than, for instance, the work of Thucydides, these authors unconsciously and unintentionally provide us with a kind of historical knowledge which we cannot so easily derive from the works of their more objective predecessors. For just because these authors do not rank so high above the average as Herodotos or Thucydides, their opinions are not likely to have been exclusively their own but were probably to a greater or less degree representative of the sentiments of important sections of the Greek population. It is this aspect of their works which makes their study extremely interesting, for the political psychology of an epoch is perhaps no less important than the economic phase of its history. But while the economic side of ancient history has been analyzed in the most brilliant fashion by the greatest historians of our age, its politico-psychological aspect has up to the present received comparatively little attention.

## II

In this connection the case of Theopompos is of special interest, though it presents greater difficulties than that of Ephoros or of Philistos. For he did not, like Ephoros, write special introductions to the different parts of his works in order to point out what political principles he

<sup>1</sup> Many scholars have contended that the selection of the events which Xenophon describes or fails to describe, especially in the third and fourth books of his *Hellenica*, was determined by his political prejudice. I believe that the reasons for the selection made were at least partly different. I hope that I shall be able to discuss this problem in the not too distant future.



wanted to illustrate by his narrative; nor did he, like Philistos, write with the professed aim of justifying his political opinions. He nowhere expresses his political convictions directly, but they are inherent in the judgments which he brings to bear on individuals, nations, actions, tendencies, and institutions. The reason for this is that he is more emotional, but for this very reason he is likely to be nearer to, and more directly representative of, the views of an important, though perhaps not very large, section of the Greek populace of his time. For the political opinions of most men are always emotional rather than the expression of an elaborate political theory or opinion. This perhaps makes it worth while to inquire a little more deeply into Theopompos's political convictions.

The works of Theopompos present several sets of problems which have a bearing on the present question. He wrote three historical works: (1) an epitome of the work of Herodotos; (2) the *Hellenica*, a Greek history from 410 (that is, from the year with which the work of Thucydides ends) to 394 (that is, to the battle of Knidos);<sup>2</sup> (3) the *Philippica*, a history of Greece and Persia from the accession of Philip of Macedon in 360/59 to his death in 336.

Why did he not deal with the intermediate period from 394 to 360? This question is partly answered by the admiration for Philip which he professes in the introduction to the *Philippica*. It had become clear to him that with Philip a new historical epoch had begun which seemed to him more interesting and worthy of attention than the previous period. Yet Theopompos did not leave the *Hellenica* unfinished in such a way as to break off in the middle of the narrative. He rounded his work off by bringing it down to an event which, to some extent, marked an epoch in the historical development, since it was through the battle of Knidos that the aspirations of Sparta to a hegemony over Greece were finally and for all time defeated. One may therefore ask whether there is some significance in the fact that Theopompos chose this event as the concluding point of his earlier work.

The composition of the *Philippica* presents another problem. The work started with the accession of Philip and ended with his death, but the history of Philip provided only the framework for a general history of Greece and Persia from 360 to 336, and there were long digressions on Greek and Persian history after 394, on Sicilian history after 404, on the

<sup>2</sup> T 13-14. I quote the testimonia (T) on the life of Theopompos and the fragments (F) of his works according to Felix Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, II (Berlin, 1929), no. 115.

Athenian demagogues of the fifth and fourth centuries, and on other subjects, so that when Philip V of Macedon later extracted those parts of Theopompos's work which really contained the history of Philip II, this extract was only one third of the length of the original work.<sup>3</sup> One may, of course, contend that Theopompos, in giving his work this curious form, was influenced by Herodotos. The form of the work of Herodotos, however, is explained by the special conditions under which it was written and by the gradual development of its author.<sup>4</sup> Theopompos, on the other hand, was no mere imitator and was an experienced historian when he started to write the *Philippica*. The composition of this work thus presents a real problem, which may have some bearing on the question under discussion.

Finally, since Theopompos must have completed the *Philippica* long before his death,<sup>5</sup> one may ask why so fertile an author never attempted to write a history of Alexander, though he was in personal contact with the king<sup>6</sup> and survived him for more than twenty years.<sup>7</sup>

Another set of problems arises from the character of Theopompos's works and from the judgments which they contained. It was the unanimous opinion of antiquity that the most striking feature of his works was the bitterness of his judgments on personalities, nations, and forms of government.<sup>8</sup> Even the most casual survey of the fragments which have come down to us shows that this opinion was justified. It is also confirmed by what we know of his life. He became so universally hated on account of the attacks which he made on almost everybody that after the death of Alexander he had great difficulty in finding a place where he could live in safety, and, when he fled to Ptolemy in Egypt, this ruler, who took pride in supporting art and literature, seriously considered doing away with him as troublemaker.<sup>9</sup>

Of still greater importance for our problem is another characteristic feature of Theopompos's work, the inconsistency of his judgments. Polybios, who had read all his writings carefully, inveighs at great length against this fault of his,<sup>10</sup> and his judgment is borne out by the fragments. Polybios says that in his relation to Philip he was the most abject flatterer but that, in spite of this, he accused him of all sorts of

<sup>3</sup> T 31.

<sup>4</sup> See *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LXVII (1936), 315 ff.

<sup>5</sup> See Eduard Schwartz in *Hermes*, XXXV (1900), 109 ff.

<sup>6</sup> This is proved by the fact that he was recalled from exile by Chios in 333/32 on the recommendation of Alexander and by the fragments of several letters which he wrote to the king (F 251-54). <sup>7</sup> T 2. <sup>8</sup> T 20, 8; T 25; T 28b; T 40; F 333.

<sup>9</sup> T 2; cf. also T 8.

<sup>10</sup> Polybios, VII, 10, 7, to VIII, 13, 8; cf. also T 19.

vices. Indeed we find that in the introduction to the *Philippica* he praises the king as a man the like of whom Europe had not seen in the whole course of its history,<sup>11</sup> while in other parts of the same work he speaks of him with utter moral indignation<sup>12</sup> and says that his closest associates were swine<sup>13</sup> and worse than the Laestrygonians.

Philip is not the only person on whom Theopompos passes contradictory judgments. In a letter to Philip, Hermias, the tyrant of Atarneus, is held up to the king as a model and highly praised for his conduct as a ruler as well as for his adherence to Platonic principles.<sup>14</sup> Yet this same man, in a fragment of the *Philippica*, is accused of the most terrible tyranny, of cruelty, and of all sorts of vices.<sup>15</sup> In addition, Theopompos wrote a special work in which he attacked what he considered the foolish doctrines of Plato and his followers.<sup>16</sup>

Theopompos is supposed to have been a personal disciple of Isokrates,<sup>17</sup> and whether this tradition be true or not, there can be no doubt that Isokrates greatly influenced his style and, to a lesser degree, his conception of history.<sup>18</sup> Yet he speaks of Isokrates with contempt and places his disciple Naukrates far above him.<sup>19</sup> Still more curious is another case. In one place he blames the Athenians severely because they allowed their general, Chares, to show himself publicly in the company of dancers, flute players, and plain prostitutes, and because they even seemed to like his dissolute manners.<sup>20</sup> Yet in another passage he says that the abject Athenian democracy, unable to bear the presence of outstanding men, exiled all of them at one time or another, among them Chares.<sup>21</sup> He is also supposed to have written a book in praise of Alexander and another in condemnation of him.<sup>22</sup>

So much for Theopompos's inconsistency regarding individuals, attitudes, and actions. It is still more curious that he seems equally inconsistent in his judgments concerning whole nations, institutions, and forms of government. His hatred of Athens went so far that he contested the merits of the Athenians in the battle of Marathon and tried to prove that the peace treaty of Kallias, which guaranteed the liberty of the Greeks of Asia Minor, was a forgery.<sup>23</sup> He devoted almost a whole book of the *Philippica* to an attack on the Athenian demagogues and on Athenian democracy.<sup>24</sup> Yet he is supposed to have written a

<sup>11</sup> F 27.      <sup>12</sup> F 224-25; F 81; F 236; for other examples see below.

<sup>13</sup> The context shows that this rather than "beasts" is the meaning of the word θηρία, which Theopompos uses.      <sup>14</sup> F 250.      <sup>15</sup> F 291.

<sup>16</sup> F 259; cf. also T 7; F 275; F 294; F 359.      <sup>17</sup> T 1; T 3; T 5; T 8.

<sup>18</sup> T 20a, 9; see also below.      <sup>19</sup> F 25.      <sup>20</sup> F 213.      <sup>21</sup> F 105.

<sup>22</sup> T 8; T 48; F 257; F 258.      <sup>23</sup> F 153.      <sup>24</sup> F 85-100; cf. also F 261; F 325-27.

Panathenaicus,<sup>25</sup> which must have contained some praise of Athens. He frequently inveighs against tyrants and tyranny<sup>26</sup> and speaks of the liberty of the Greeks as of one of the most sacred principles.<sup>27</sup> Yet he seems to approve of the tyranny of Kleomenes of Methymna<sup>28</sup> and acclaims Philip of Macedon because, if he would persevere in his present attitude, he might become king of the whole of Europe.<sup>29</sup>

These seeming or real inconsistencies in Theopompos's judgments and opinions puzzled his readers in antiquity as well as in modern times. For the obvious explanation of such an attitude—that he was an opportunist and adjusted his opinions to the expediency of the moment—is clearly impossible in his case. Many of the "swine" of F 225 were still alive and in positions of great power when that part of his work was published; and all the ancient authors who knew something of his life agree that, far from being an opportunist, he got himself continuously into trouble by his complete lack of caution and his utter indiscretion.

For a long time, therefore, it was the accepted notion that Theopompos was a passionate moralist who saw everything in black and white, mostly in black, and who in the course of his life became more and more embittered, so that he reversed even the few favorable judgments which he had held in the earlier part of his life. Laqueur adds that, like most people who pronounce very hard judgments on their fellow human beings, he himself was probably full of ignoble passions and therefore justly hated by his contemporaries.<sup>30</sup> There is much truth in the generally accepted notion of Theopompos's character, but it is hardly quite satisfactory as an explanation of all his inconsistencies. However indiscreet he may have been, his fame in antiquity indicates that he was a historian of rank, and the fragments show that he was keenly interested in the causes of events and in the interrelation between morals and political institutions. It is therefore difficult to believe that his judgments were determined by the passions of the moment alone and that there were no consistent political convictions whatever behind the seeming contradictions and inconsistencies which we find in the fragments.

### III

It is the very great merit of Arnaldo Momigliano to have made this point and to have been the first to attempt to elucidate Theopompos's political principles.<sup>31</sup> In his opinion all of Theopompos's predilections

<sup>25</sup> T 48.      <sup>26</sup> F 134; F 187-88; F 291; F 331.      <sup>27</sup> F 153; F 250.      <sup>28</sup> F 227.

<sup>29</sup> F 256.      <sup>30</sup> Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, V A (Stuttgart, 1934), 2186.

<sup>31</sup> *Rivista di filologia*, nuova serie, IX (1931), 230-42 and 335-53.

and aversions and all his seeming inconsistencies and contradictions can be derived ultimately from two basic principles or points of view, which he took over from his master Isokrates: from his panhellenism, that is, the conviction that Greece must be unified under one leader for the final struggle against Persia, and from his conception of historiography as a means of "psychagogy" or—as we may express it less accurately but in more familiar terms—as a means of moral and political propaganda.

Theopompos's panhellenism, according to Momigliano, explains his pro-Spartan attitude as well as his admiration for Philip. It was the Spartans who, after the Peloponnesian War, tried to bring about the unification of Greece under their leadership and took up the struggle against Persia in Asia Minor. Their policy was finally and decisively defeated by the Athenians at Knidos. This is why Theopompos broke off his *Hellenica* with that event. He started again with the accession of Philip because this man's rise to power revived the hopes of the panhellenists. He grouped his second major historical work around the person of Philip but tried to give a complete history of Greece in its relation to the Orient within this framework, because it was the great struggle between the Orient and Greece in which he was chiefly interested. This explains the title and composition of this work.

Most of the other predilections and aversions of Theopompos, in Momigliano's opinion, can be derived from his love for Sparta as the champion of panhellenism. The only Athenians of whom he speaks with praise were Kimon and Kallistratos of Aphidana, both strongly pro-Spartan. He hated Athens as the power which, by starting the Peloponnesian War and later again by resisting Sparta in the beginning of the fourth century, had prevented the unification of Greece and had made it possible for the Persians again to interfere in Greek affairs. Having once conceived this hatred of Athens, he denied even the unquestionable merits of Athens in the Persian wars. Finally, his love for Sparta made him also love Spartan austerity and simplicity and hate luxury and dissoluteness. These principles came later into conflict with his admiration of Philip as the coming unifier of Greece, which explains his contradictory judgments concerning the Macedonian king.

Theopompos's view of historiography, on the other hand, explains the seeming inconsistency in his attitude toward Plato. The pro-Spartan elements in Plato's political theory and his advocacy of an austere and simple life were bound to appeal to Theopompos. For this reason he praises Hermias for his adherence to Platonic principles. But Plato's investigation into the absolute truth and his search for the absolute

good were liable to appear preposterous to a man who—as Momigliano believes—regarded moral concepts mainly as a means of political propaganda. It is therefore perfectly understandable that Theopompos directed his attack mainly against Plato's dialectic and his theory of ideas.

This interpretation of Momigliano is very ingenious and based on a thorough scrutiny of the fragments. Yet one can hardly accept his explanation as a whole. There is no doubt that Theopompos considered the liberation of the Greeks of Asia Minor as meritorious. It is just for this reason that he contested the merits of hated Athens in this respect. But nothing indicates that the struggle against Persia was ever foremost in his mind. The passage on Philip as the future king of Europe,<sup>32</sup> which Momigliano quotes in support of his theory, can rather be taken as evidence to the contrary since it contains no allusion whatever to the antagonism between Greece and Persia or to a possible conquest of Persia by the Macedonians.

What is of more importance, neither Theopompos's attitude toward Athens and Sparta nor his relation to Alexander is really understandable from Momigliano's point of view. The period in which the Spartans may be said to have had the leadership in the struggle of the Greeks against Persia was extremely short, and the outcome was completely negative. All through the later part of the Peloponnesian War the Spartans had received subsidies from Persia. In 401 they supported the pretender Cyrus against his brother Artaxerxes. When the former was killed in battle, they tried at once to make peace, and it was only after an attempt of the satrap Tissaphernes on Kyme that they appeared for a while as champions of the liberty of the Greeks in Asia Minor and waged a successful but entirely undecisive war against the satraps Pharnabazos and Tissaphernes. Even this did not last very long, and in the end it was the Spartans who, after a similar attempt in 392, brought about the peace of Antalkidas in 387, by which the contracting parties not only acknowledged the Persians' claim to sovereignty over all the Greeks of Asia Minor and Cyprus but also made the Persian king arbitrator in the affairs of the Greeks of the motherland. Is it believable that a short episode which ended in such a way should have made Theopompos a friend of Sparta and a bitter enemy of Athens if panhellenism was foremost in his heart? How could he overlook the fact that, toward the end of that period, it had again been Athens which was at war with Persia, not to speak of Athenian policy in the first half of

<sup>32</sup> F 255.



the fifth century? It is quite understandable that Theopompos, passionate as he was and to some extent favoring panhellenism, should have contested the panhellenic merits of the Athenians if he had other very compelling reasons to hate Athens. But panhellenism cannot have been the cause of his hatred.

An analysis of Theopompos's relations to Alexander leads to the same conclusion. If he had been above all a panhellenist, Alexander's conquest of Asia would have been the fulfillment of his dreams. But if this had been the case, how can one explain the fact that the man who boasted that he could write a better story of any historical event than anybody else never made an attempt to write the history of Alexander? For there is no evidence whatever to indicate that he, like Aristotle and Kallisthenes, changed his attitude toward the king at a later period in consequence of the new policy toward the Persians which the latter adopted after the conquest of Persepolis, as some scholars have suggested; and since all ancient authorities agree that Theopompos worked very fast, one must assume that he would at least have started to write a history of Alexander's exploits if he had been as enthusiastic about him as about his father Philip.

Momigliano's analysis of Theopompos's conception of historiography, though accepted by Laqueur, is also open to objections. It is quite true that in comparison with Herodotos or Thucydides or Xenophon, Theopompos's fashion of writing history is rhetorical. It is also true that he, like Isokrates, tried to influence the course of history by his writings, as is evidenced by the memoranda and letters which he addressed to Alexander and Philip. Yet the fragments of his historical works do not characterize him as a man who made a clever use of the opportunities of the moment so as to influence the leading statesmen or the masses in the direction of his political aims. A good propagandist may be passionate, but he must also be master of his passions so as not to let them interfere with his propaganda. This is obviously not the case with Theopompos, who always made the most furious and indiscreet attacks on the very persons whom he must have been most anxious to win over to his cause. In this respect he was not a true disciple of his master Isokrates. His attempts at "psychagogy"—to use Momigliano's term—are a direct expression of his political passions. But he is not likely to have had very elaborate views on the technique of propaganda. This can, therefore, hardly have been the reason for his antagonism to Plato.

Yet in spite of all these objections, there are many excellent points in

Momigliano's observations. It often requires only a shift in the emphasis which he lays on different points in order to arrive at what, I believe, can be shown to be a more correct interpretation of Theopompos's political tendencies and convictions.

## IV

A new analysis must start from those of Theopompos's predilections and aversions which are foremost in his works. There are two outstanding objects of his hatred: luxury, licentiousness, and a dissolute life; and democracy. It is not true that Theopompos, as Laqueur<sup>33</sup> and others have contended, takes a more detached view of the dissolute manners and customs of barbarian tribes while he condemns the same faults in individual Greeks most severely. Since we possess only fragments of his works and since he often revels in lurid descriptions of the strange vices of foreign nations, it is quite natural that in some cases only the description has survived while his words of censure were omitted as less interesting.<sup>34</sup> But the passages on the Thracian king Kotys<sup>35</sup> and especially on the Illyrians<sup>36</sup> indicate clearly that he disapproved just as strongly of the dissolute life of barbarian kings or tribes as of the licentiousness of individual Greeks. Likewise his hatred of democracy is not directed exclusively against Athens. He hated and attacked democracy everywhere.<sup>37</sup>

These two aversions of Theopompos, however, are shared by men as different in attitude and outlook as Plato, Antisthenes the Socratic, Philistos, the advocate of tyranny, and Kerkidas of Megalopolis, the social reformer. They therefore give us only a very vague idea of Theopompos's political convictions. Let us then see what we can find out about his positive views.

There are only a very few individuals and nations which—as far as we can see—met with Theopompos's permanent approval: Kimon,<sup>38</sup> Alkibiades,<sup>39</sup> Agesilaos,<sup>40</sup> Lysander,<sup>41</sup> Antisthenes,<sup>42</sup> and, as a nation, Sparta.<sup>43</sup> This is a rather curious array: Kimon, the old-time gentleman, brilliant in war as well as in society, a perfect aristocrat, a friend of Sparta, a very able general and statesman, but who was finally defeated by his political opponents because he was not fit for demagogy and the cruder forms of the party struggle; Alkibiades, descendant of the most

<sup>33</sup> Pauly-Wissowa, V A, 2218.

<sup>34</sup> For instance, F 40 and F 204.

<sup>35</sup> F 31.

<sup>36</sup> F 39.

<sup>37</sup> For instance, in Byzantium and Chalcedon; F 62.

<sup>38</sup> F 88-89.

<sup>39</sup> F 288.

<sup>40</sup> F 22.

<sup>41</sup> F 20; F 333.

<sup>42</sup> F 295; F 259.

<sup>43</sup> *Passim*; cf. below.

noble and politically most outstanding families, brilliant in appearance, gracefulness of manners, wit, oratory, and military and political genius, but without loyalty to anyone, traitor to his country and later again to the Spartans, with whom he had made common cause against his fatherland; Agesilaos, the conservative Spartan king, leader in many battles against the Persians as well as against Greeks, fighter for a lost cause who did his best to preserve as much as possible of the old Spartan spirit and the old Spartan traditions in a time of decay; Lysander, Agesilaos's personal rival and enemy, who did more to destroy the old Spartan traditions than any other individual, because he himself had outgrown those traditions, yet the man who won the Peloponnesian War for Sparta and who, when the war was over, established Spartan supremacy all over Greece; finally Antisthenes, the Socratic and romantic, the moralist who preached an austere and simple life, the admirer of Sparta who at the same time dreamt of a patriarchal kingdom under a wise and benevolent ruler, a kingdom which he located in far-off Persia and in the remote past of Cyrus the Great. Yet with all their differences these men all have one thing in common: they are either aristocrats themselves or advocates of an oligarchic form of government and a hierarchic society.

The obvious conclusion that the aristocratic ideal and conservatism were important elements in Theopompos's political convictions is confirmed by an analysis of other fragments, which make it possible to define his standpoint somewhat more exactly. When he speaks of the degeneration of manners at Byzantium after the introduction of democracy,<sup>44</sup> he refers not so much to actual debauchery as to the Byzantine citizens' habit of spending their time in and near the harbor and of frequenting taverns. These reproaches must be considered in the light of ancient tradition and prejudices. Many anecdotes, especially of the fourth century, indicate that it was considered very bad taste for a citizen even of the middle classes to visit a tavern, not so much because taverns were places of vice and debauchery as because they were frequented by the lower classes. The Cynics, who preached austerity and were very much opposed to a dissolute life, sometimes deliberately visited taverns in order to combat this social prejudice.<sup>45</sup> The population of the harbor naturally also belonged to the lower classes. This shows that Theopompos blamed the Byzantines at least as much for their lack

<sup>44</sup> F 62.

<sup>45</sup> See Diogenes Laertius, VI, 2, 66; Aelianos, *Variae Historiae*, IX, 19. For further examples consult G. A. Gerhard in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XV (1912), 404.

of a sense of class distinctions as for debauchery. That this interpretation is correct is further confirmed by a passage in which Theopompos blames the Arkadians,<sup>46</sup> because at their festivals they dined at the same table with their slaves. Since in this case no mention whatever is made of debauchery, it is quite clear that Theopompos objects only to the fact that the slaves were not kept in their proper place.

This "aristocratic" attitude of Theopompos is illustrated also by his relation to his master Isokrates, of whom he speaks with some contempt because Isokrates gave instruction for money.<sup>47</sup> Laqueur says that this gives the impression that Theopompos begrudged his master the money which he had had to pay for his instruction.<sup>48</sup> But the fragments show clearly that Theopompos would have rejected indignantly any such explanation of his attitude. He boasted of the large sums which he had spent for his education<sup>49</sup> and was proud of having had the instruction of the greatest master of oratory at a high price, but he shared the sentiment of the Athenian aristocrats of the fifth century, who admired the sophists for their brilliant abilities and were most eager to learn from them yet regarded them with some contempt because they worked for money.<sup>50</sup> So the passage on Isokrates shows that Theopompos considered himself a gentleman who would never engage in intellectual pursuits for the sake of making a living. Yet Laqueur is not entirely wrong in his estimate of Theopompos's character. An aristocrat of the fifth century might have felt exactly like Theopompos, but he would not have boasted of a superiority which to him would have been a matter of course. This difference in behavior shows that Theopompos was really no longer a gentleman of the old type but a reactionary, as is also evidenced by his somewhat comical hatred of the upstarts and the newly rich who can afford a kind of life which formerly had been reserved for the nobles.<sup>51</sup>

But let us return to the more directly political views of Theopompos. Most interesting is the seeming inconsistency in his views on tyranny.<sup>52</sup> Perhaps there was a real difference between the tyrants whom he praised and those whom he attacked. In most of the cases he inveighs against tyrants and tyranny because the tyrants lived dissolute lives,<sup>53</sup> or, as in the case of the elder Dionysios, because the tyrant, while not living a

<sup>46</sup> F 215.<sup>47</sup> F 25.<sup>48</sup> Pauly-Wissowa, V A, 2191.<sup>49</sup> T 20.

<sup>50</sup> Compare the illuminating passage in Plato's *Protagoras* (311c ff.), where the young Hippokrates gets very much upset when Socrates asks him whether he wants to become a sophist since he is so eager to learn from these men. Socrates himself, though of rather low origin, was treated with much more real respect because he did not teach for money.

<sup>51</sup> F 36 and F 252.<sup>52</sup> See above, p. 770.<sup>53</sup> F 185; F 187-88; F 331.

dissolute life himself, encouraged and promoted luxury and debauchery among his subjects.<sup>54</sup> On the other hand, he praises Kleomenes, the tyrant of Methymna,<sup>55</sup> because he suppressed vice and luxury and did away with lawlessness. So far the judgment may seem to depend only on the morality of the rulers: a virtuous tyrant is praiseworthy, a dissolute tyrant is not. But perhaps there is also a political side to the problem.

The elder Dionysios is accused, not of leading a dissolute life himself, but of encouraging his subjects to do so. Why did he follow such a strange policy? In this case the answer is given by Theopompos himself: because he wanted arbitrary power, and because wealthy and influential people, unless they were corrupted by vice and debauchery, might be a check on this power. If it is permitted to interpret the Kleomenes passage in the light of this passage, we may conclude that Kleomenes met with Theopompos's approval because, by fighting vice and by trying to establish law and order, he indicated that he did not seek arbitrary power or power for its own sake but only for an ulterior moral and political purpose.<sup>56</sup>

This interpretation of the Kleomenes fragment gains further support by an analysis of the reasons for the seeming or real inconsistency in Theopompos's judgment on Hermias of Atarneus. When he writes against Hermias,<sup>57</sup> he does not accuse him of a dissolute life but attacks him on the ground that he was of low origin, a eunuch and a former slave, and because his rule—at one time—had been arbitrary and cruel. When he praises him,<sup>58</sup> he does so because he later won the approval of the well-to-do and noble, and because he followed Platonic principles, which—if Platonic principles are what we find expressed in Plato's works—means that he bound himself to very strict laws and favored aristocracy. We can then easily understand the inconsistency in Theopompos's judgments: in regard to class distinction, because Hermias presented the paradox of a man who, though himself of very low origin, established an order which was very satisfactory to the higher classes; in regard to the principles of rulership, because Hermias, in the earlier part of his career, when his rule was not yet firmly established and before he had come under the influence of Plato, had sometimes had to

<sup>54</sup> F 134.                      <sup>55</sup> F 227.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. also F 81: deliberate corruption of the Perrhaibi by Philip. The theory that the tyrant must try to corrupt the outstanding citizens so as to eliminate any check on his arbitrary power is very old and widespread among the Greeks. See, for instance, Herodotos, I, 155-56, and III, 80, 4; Plato, *Republic*, 567.

<sup>57</sup> F 291.                      <sup>58</sup> F 250.

use violent means in order to strengthen his rule.<sup>59</sup> The violence of Theopompos's contradictory judgments on Hermias confirms the view of the earlier commentators that he always saw only one side of a thing at one time, but it also shows that, in spite of this, Theopompos had some fundamental political convictions which never changed.

There is, however, a still more important aspect of the question. From the analysis of Theopompos's view on tyranny we can now draw the conclusion that he was a man who not only dreamt of the good old times when there had been a strict order and a hierarchic society, but who had a very definite idea as to how and in what way only this dream of his could be made again to come true. He obviously thought that under existing conditions only a strong man with an iron hand would be able to bring back the order which he desired with all his heart. The reasons for his admiration for Lysander must then have been somewhat different from those of his admiration for most of the other men of whom he fully approved. He loved Kimon, Alkibiades, and Agesilaos because they were real aristocrats, but he admired Lysander because, if he had not died prematurely,<sup>60</sup> he might have achieved what Theopompos desired. He may have looked upon Lysander as a kind of potential Sulla who acquired dictatorial power only in order to abdicate voluntarily in favor of the senate—the senate in Lysander's case being the oligarchic government of Sparta. Later, after the complete and irretrievable downfall of Spartan power, when there was no longer anywhere in Greece a "senate" in whose favor a "strong man" could have abdicated, Theopompos turned to what must have seemed to him the second best solution: a patriarchal monarchy with the king as the head and protector of a hierarchic society. His memoranda and letters to King Philip show very clearly that he saw in him the man who might bring this about in the whole of Europe, though later he seems to have become more and more disappointed with him in spite of his military and political successes.

Before considering the causes of this disappointment, however, we may, perhaps, turn to some minor problems. The inconsistency in Theopompos's judgment on Chares<sup>61</sup> and the Athenians can now easily

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Plato, *Epistle VI*, and Werner Jaeger, *Aristoteles* (Berlin, 1923), 112 ff.

<sup>60</sup> I do not want to discuss here the question of whether Lysander's aims had already been completely defeated some years before his death or whether he might have been able to regain his influence and still to achieve his aims if he had not been killed in a battle in 395. The question is only what it would have meant to Theopompos if he had been successful. Cf. also below.

<sup>61</sup> See above, p. 769.

be explained, and the explanation adds another touch to the picture of Theopompos's political ideals. The two seemingly contradictory judgments, blame of the Athenians because they allowed Chares to live a dissolute life and blame of the Athenians because they exiled him, can be found in the very same fragment.<sup>62</sup> They are not really contradictory. A state and a society after the heart of Theopompos would have kept their members within very strict limits of decency, but they would have done so by social pressure and therefore would not have needed to exile a man who, in spite of his weaknesses, was in many ways a genius.

The question of Theopompos's panhellenism is a little more complicated. As we have seen, it is quite true that Theopompos considered the liberation of the Greeks from the Persian yoke as meritorious. Obviously, also, he was convinced of the superiority of Greek culture and Greek political institutions. His ideal of strict law and order in contrast to licentious democracy as well as to arbitrary power has a certain similarity with what Herodotos, in the famous conversations between Xerxes and the exiled Spartan king Demaratos,<sup>63</sup> describes as the typical Greek form of interrelation between the individual and the state in contrast to the Oriental despotism of the Persians. Yet, in spite of this, antagonism to Persia is not foremost in Theopompos's mind. Much less is he interested in a conquest of Persia. In general his ideals seem to have been perfectly peaceful ones, as evidenced by the fanciful utopian tale which, together with some other miraculous stories, he inserted in the eighth book of his *Philippica*.<sup>64</sup> He favored war and conquest only when they served to establish the kind of order which he craved, or at least tended to promote this ultimate aim; and even then he did not look beyond the boundaries of Europe or, at most, of those parts of the world which had been settled by Greeks.<sup>65</sup>

This makes it quite obvious that Theopompos did not desire a unification of Greece for military reasons. If, nevertheless, at one time he fervently desired the unification of Greece under the leadership of Philip, his reasons must have been different. Though he nowhere discusses these reasons directly, it is perhaps not too difficult to guess what they were. For more than a hundred years the struggle between the two leading powers in Greece had been, at the same time, a struggle between two types of government, each power striving to establish

<sup>62</sup> F 105. The other fragment (F 213) serves only to emphasize the negative side of the judgment and so to make the seeming inconsistency more obvious.

<sup>63</sup> Herodotos, VII, 100-104, 234-36.

<sup>64</sup> F 75c. <sup>65</sup> F 256; F 20; cf. also above, p. 772.



governments similar to its own everywhere. By the second half of the fourth century it must have become clear, even to the blind, that no form of government could become stable and lasting anywhere unless it was at the same time established all over Greece. It must have been equally clear that this could be brought about only through the unification of Greece under the leadership or supremacy of one power. Theopompos's panhellenism is then easily explained as a natural consequence of his reactionary ideals, which explain also why it was not directed primarily against Persia and why Theopompos was not able to see anything praiseworthy in the attempts of democratic Athens to assume the leadership in a unification of Greece against the Persians. In other words, Momigliano's observations concerning Theopompos's panhellenism, conservatism, and love for Sparta<sup>66</sup> are all correct, but one has to reverse the interrelation between cause and effect.

Theopompos's panhellenism, together with his conviction that Greece was in need of a strong man who would establish law and order everywhere, makes it easy to understand his special admiration for Lysander and Philip. Both of them were typical strong men, and both of them had been or were still striving for the supremacy of their country over Greece. Neither of them, certainly, was a democrat.

At this point, however, we encounter another essential problem. Theopompos has only praise for Lysander. He not only admires his political success but also lauds the austerity and simplicity of his life.<sup>67</sup> His judgment of Philip, on the other hand, is not always so favorable. He expresses his admiration for him as a great statesman, it is true, in much stronger words than his admiration for Lysander.<sup>68</sup> His memoranda and letters to the king, as well as many passages in the *Philippica*, are attempts to influence him and at the same time expressions of the great hopes which he placed in him.<sup>69</sup> Yet Theopompos inveighs with great vehemence against his dissolute life and his vices. Again the difference, at first sight, seems mainly one of morals. But again there is also a political side to it. In order to see this more clearly, let us at first cast a glance at the historical position of Lysander and Philip.

Lysander's position and background were certainly more commensurate with Theopompos's ideals. Sparta was really the stronghold of conservatism in Greece and the representative of oligarchy of a strictly hierarchic order and of austerity and simplicity, that is, of all the things which Theopompos cherished most. It was the supremacy of this

<sup>66</sup> See above, pp. 770 ff.

<sup>67</sup> F 333.

<sup>68</sup> F 27; F 333.

<sup>69</sup> F 250; F 255-56; T 48.

country which Lysander—for a time quite successfully—tried to establish over all Greece, creating oligarchic governments everywhere.

Philip's relation to Theopompos's ideals is not quite so unambiguous. He corresponded to these ideals in three respects. He was looked upon by many as the potential unifier and leader of Greece. He had established law and order and a well-centralized government in faction-torn Macedonia with an iron hand and within an amazingly short period. He certainly was not a tyrant after the fashion of Peisistratos or Dionysios the elder, who had won their rule by the support of the masses and against the opposition of the leaders of the aristocracy. On the contrary, though in the beginning of his career he had had to fight against some of the noble families, there can be no doubt of the fundamentally feudal character of Macedonian government and society.

It is just in this respect that a new problem arises. The semi-barbarian feudalism of Macedon was not what Theopompos and others considered the ideal of an aristocratic society and regime. Philip himself may have been completely hellenized and certainly wished to give the impression that this was the case. Yet this could hardly conceal the fact that his people were semibarbarians and that the drinking bouts of the Macedonian lords, for instance, were of a different character from Spartan *syssitia* or even from the symposia of Athenian nobles of the sixth century, not to speak of the highly educated and refined gentlemen of the fifth century, like Kimon and his friends. This difference in background, which was also a difference between cultural youth and maturity, was, as everybody knows, to prove an insurmountable obstacle to the complete mutual assimilation of Greeks and Macedonians and hence an extremely important factor in the future course of history. It may not have been so conspicuous in the beginning of Philip's career, when he tried hard to impress the Greeks by his education and the refinements of his court. But Theopompos's despair over the manners of Philip's closest associates and over the kind of life he lived in their company<sup>70</sup> shows that the discrepancy became more and more noticeable. It was certainly one of the foremost reasons for Theopompos's criticism of Philip.

There is, however, another aspect of the problem which is of more general importance. Let us, for a moment, turn back to Theopompos's views of Lysander. Some ancient authors already expressed surprise<sup>71</sup>

<sup>70</sup> F 162; F 224-25; F 236; etc.

<sup>71</sup> Athenaios, XII, 61, p. 543 B; Plutarch, *Lysander*, 30, p. 450 B; cf. also the two conflicting stories concerning Lysander's attitude, *ibid.*, 2, p. 434 C.

at the fact that Theopompos, who accused almost everybody of a dissolute life, praised Lysander for his austerity and lack of selfish ambition, though this had not been the impression which Lysander's contemporaries had had of his habits and character, at least in the latter part of his life. One may perhaps suggest that this curious and unexpected attitude of Theopompos toward Lysander was partly due to, and in any case made possible by, the fact that Lysander had been dead for a considerable time when Theopompos wrote his work. For thus he could safely be represented as a model in all respects since his actions could no longer come into conflict with Theopompos's wishes for the future, as was the case with Philip. But there are other reasons also why one may doubt whether Theopompos's judgment of Lysander would have remained so favorable if Lysander had lived to achieve his aims.<sup>72</sup>

Ancient tradition has it that during the last decade of his life he made an attempt to replace the hereditary kingdom of the Spartans by an elective monarchy so that he himself might become king<sup>73</sup> and that he tried to bribe the Pythia at Delphi and engaged in the most sinister political intrigues in order to achieve this aim.<sup>74</sup> It does not matter very much whether this tradition is based on facts or on mere rumors which were current during the last few years of Lysander's life. For, whether facts or rumors, they were only symptoms of an altogether untenable situation.

The very success of the man who had appointed Spartan governors in numerous Greek cities at his will and pleasure and who had received unheard of honors at home and abroad<sup>75</sup> had carried him beyond the limits of the traditional order of Sparta, which was based on the strictest equality of all the members of the ruling aristocracy. Even if Lysander had been willing to retire into the comparative obscurity of an ordinary Spartan citizen after having accomplished his task, the mere fact that a single man had held such extraordinary power over a considerable period would have been a major factor in the rapid disintegration of the already outworn structure of the Spartan state. Again the comparison with Sulla is illuminating. Lysander, through his personal genius, had won great power for oligarchic Sparta and then had attempted to destroy some of the oldest institutions of his country in order to make a place for himself. In this latter attempt he was defeated

<sup>72</sup> Cf. n. 60.

<sup>73</sup> Diodoros, XIV, 13; Plutarch, *Lysander*, 24; Aristotle, *Politica*, V, 1, 5.

<sup>74</sup> Diodoros, XIV, 13; Plutarch, *Lysander*, 25-26.

<sup>75</sup> For details see my article, "Conservative Reaction and One Man Rule in Ancient Greece", *Political Science Quarterly*, LVI (Mar., 1941), 61 ff.

by the conservative forces which rallied in a last effort against this imminent danger. Sulla had won irresistible power for himself and then abdicated voluntarily in favor of the senate, after having created a new constitution which was to guarantee the rule of the aristocracy. The result in both cases was the same: an increasingly rapid disintegration of the oligarchic form of government. It could not have been otherwise if Lysander had met with ultimate success. On the contrary, everything tends to show that the development would have been still more rapid if Lysander had attained his aims. There can, therefore, be no doubt that Theopompos would have been as much disappointed with Lysander as he later was with Philip. It is this which gives the attitude of Theopompos its deep historical significance.

Theopompos committed the eternal and tragic error which reactionary admirers of the past have always committed in situations similar to his, the error of believing that social and political institutions which have come into being by natural growth and which in the past may have admirably served their purpose, but which have become obsolete, can be restored artificially from above. He committed also the complementary error of not seeing that those elements of the past which are still alive and may therefore be carried over into the future have a much better chance of survival in a period of free, gradual evolution than in a period of violent reaction. When he looked at the past, he thought that in Lysander he had found a man who might have become the savior of Hellas, but it was in all likelihood only the premature death of this man which saved Theopompos from becoming disillusioned with the object of his admiration. In Theopompos's own lifetime there was nobody on whom he might have placed such hope. So he turned to a king in half-hellenized Macedon who, by his genius and the superior power of his country, might still, he thought, succeed where Lysander had failed. But in this case both the admirer and the admired lived long enough for the disappointment to become patent.

This gives us also the key to Theopompos's relation to Philip's successor, Alexander. Theopompos may have written a work in praise of Alexander and another in which he criticized him severely,<sup>76</sup> but nothing in the fragments or in the indirect tradition indicates that he expressed himself in such passionate terms of admiration or reproof as in the case of Philip. Cicero says that Theopompos addressed a memorandum to Alexander<sup>77</sup>—probably at about the same time when Aristotle dedicated to the king his famous work on kingship, that is, in

<sup>76</sup> F 257-58; T 8; T 48; *cf.* above, p. 769.

<sup>77</sup> F 251.

the beginning of Alexander's reign. But the fragments of his letters to Alexander which have come down to us<sup>78</sup> refer to single events of little importance, in very marked contrast to the fragments of his letters and memoranda to Philip.<sup>79</sup> Above all there is the negative fact that he never attempted to write a history of Alexander.

All this is now easily understandable. In many respects Alexander must have presented fewer causes for criticism or dissatisfaction than Philip. He was, it is true, subject to fits of uncontrolled passion, and the festivals he celebrated were not exactly in the style of Spartan *syssitia*, but nobody could have said that he lived a dissolute life. His achievements, on the other hand, were much more stupendous than those of his father. He had established the supremacy of the Greeks and Macedonians over Asia and freed the Greeks of Asia Minor from the Persian yoke. The order, finally, which he tried to create in his great realm was certainly not a democratic one, and he was a real king, not a tyrant.

Yet, though Alexander shortly before his death decreed that all Greek exiles—many of them members of the oligarchic parties—be readmitted to their native cities, he was not the patriarchal monarch, restorer and protector of a hierarchic social order, of whom Theopompos had dreamt. On the contrary, he had created a new world to which the very categories of Theopompos's political thought were no longer applicable. This caused a profound change in Theopompos's life, which is clearly visible even in the few fragments of his latest writings. His political dreams may have been unrealizable from the outset. His views may have been narrow and shortsighted. Yet the exhortations and invectives in his earlier works down to the death of Philip still have a relation to the great events of his epoch; they are full of vigor, and they give expression to political tendencies and forces which, at least negatively, still had an influence on the course of history. In contrast, the utterances in his letters to Alexander, what he says about the liberty of the Greeks,<sup>80</sup> his complaints about the luxurious life of some upstarts without any political importance,<sup>81</sup> and his indictments of the debaucheries of Harpalos<sup>82</sup> are pitifully inadequate to the historical situation.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>78</sup> F 252-54.

<sup>79</sup> F 250; 255-56; F 27; T 20a, 8.

<sup>80</sup> F 253.

<sup>81</sup> F 252.

<sup>82</sup> F 253-54.

<sup>83</sup> W. Otto has suggested, in H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage* (Munich, 1926), II, 117, that Theopompos in his later years may have been a political agent of Alexander who made regular reports to the king concerning political conditions in Chios and other places on the islands and in Asia Minor. This would explain the fact that the fragments of his letters to Alexander deal with small things. But

It is quite clear why he could not have written a history of this epoch.

We need not then accept Laqueur's suggestion that Theopompos was himself full of ignoble passions,<sup>84</sup> if we want to understand his bitterness. He was in the position of a man who all through his life sees the world move farther and farther away from his ideals. When he was still a young man, he had set great hopes in Philip, but in these hopes he was disappointed until, finally, even the struggle for his ideals had become meaningless in a changing world.

There still remains the question of Theopompos's conception of historiography. Momigliano tries to explain the seeming inconsistency in Theopompos's judgment of Plato by the assumption that Theopompos approved of Plato's conservatism but objected to his search for the absolute truth and the absolute "good",<sup>85</sup> because he considered the notions of "good" and "evil" mainly as means of "psychagogy" or political propaganda. But this is not at all what the most important fragment indicates.<sup>86</sup> In this fragment Theopompos ridicules Plato for continually asking the questions: "What is the good?", "What is the just?", and exclaims: "Do we not know the true meaning of these words<sup>87</sup> without engaging in these dialectical investigations?" This shows clearly that Theopompos does not object because Plato wants to know the absolute truth concerning good and evil, but because he *searches* for it with so much effort and does not see that it is right before his and everybody's eyes. Far from being a relativist like the early sophists and the rhetoricians who taught their disciples how to twist the notions of good and evil so as to make them serve their purposes of propaganda, he is in this respect a true conservative who is convinced that good and evil are what all good citizens and honest men know them to be. Any investigation into the nature of these concepts seemed to him a dangerous concession to moral relativism, because it implied that the traditional values might be subject to revision and hence not absolute. This is also in perfect harmony with Theopompos's predilection for Antisthenes, who was the conservative and preacher among the disciples of Socrates.<sup>88</sup>

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even if one be inclined to accept this suggestion, which is open to objections (*cf.* Laqueur, Pauly-Wissowa, V A, 2185), it would still be significant that the man who through his memoranda to Philip had tried to promote a political reform of all Greece was now engaged in such activities.

<sup>84</sup> Pauly-Wissowa, V A, 2186; *cf.* n. 30.

<sup>85</sup> See above, pp. 771-72.

<sup>86</sup> F 275.

<sup>87</sup> Literally: "Do we use these words emptily?"

<sup>88</sup> See "Diogene e Antistene: Le loro relazioni reciproche e la loro importanza per la setta cinica", in *Studi di filologia classica*, nuova serie, V (1927), 134 ff.

Though, however, it is hardly possible to accept Laqueur's opinion<sup>89</sup> that Theopompos learned psychology from the sophists in order to use it for the purpose of political propaganda, it is quite true that there is more psychology and even "psychagogy" in Theopompos's work than in the works of his predecessors, notably Thucydides. This does not mean that Thucydides personally was unaware of the psychological factor in history or indifferent to the moral side of political actions. But in his stern objectivity he refrained carefully from pronouncing any moral judgments even when discussing the complete change in all prevailing moral concepts which was caused by the internecine party strife of the first years of the Peloponnesian War. Likewise, in the famous speeches which Thucydides inserted in his historical work, it was his primary object to depict a policy, not to draw the portrait of an individual.<sup>90</sup> He therefore always tried to give as forceful and lucid a representation of this policy as possible even if he disapproved of it. This is the reason why all the speeches in his work are equally brilliant, regardless of the actual oratorical abilities of the speaker.

In Theopompos's work, in contrast, the human element and, above all, the emotional element in human life are very much in the foreground. Nor is Theopompos in any way afraid of pronouncing the most outspoken moral judgments. Yet there is a marked difference between Theopompos and his successors. It is only the vagueness of the terms "psychology" and "psychological" which makes them equally applicable to the methods of a great variety of authors totally different in character. Kallisthenes and Kleitarchos tried to give a full picture of the leading personalities of their times with all their virtues and vices by showing them in lively incidents, in striking situations, and in dramatic action. Duris of Samos, in the beginning of the third century, and later Phylarchos and others went still further in this dramatization of history. But it was only Poseidonios, who, almost three centuries after Theopompos, tried to penetrate into the very depth of the souls of the actors on the political stage and to analyze the whole play and counterplay of their ambitions and vanities, their hopes and fears, the pettiness or greatness of their motives.

Nothing of either kind can be discovered in the fragments of Theopompos's works. He is a true child of his time in putting the human element in history in the foreground. But he is interested in it only in so far as it gives occasion for praise or blame, and he metes out praise

<sup>89</sup> Pauly-Wissowa, V A, 2218.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. also E. Schwartz in *Gnomon*, II (1926), 80 ff.



and blame according to the agreement or disagreement of the characters with his reactionary political ideals. He is primarily concerned with individuals because they are the ultimate subjects of moral praise and blame, but he did not study their psychology either for its own sake or for the sake of practical psychagogy. He tried to influence the course of history by his passionate pleas and by the very direct expression of his opinions and judgments, but he had no subtle technique of propaganda.

From whatever angle one may attack the manifold problems which the work of Theopompos presents, the final result is always the same. There reveals itself behind the seeming inconsistencies of his judgments a singularly rigid unity of character. The objects of his judgments changed or might at different times appear in different perspectives, but the moral and political principles by which he judged or measured these objects did not undergo any noticeable change throughout his rather long life. Nor can there be any doubt as to his sincerity.

Theopompos is interesting not only as an individual but also as a representative of his epoch. He represents an important stage in the development of Greek historiography from Thucydides to Poseidonios. He is also representative of a widespread tendency among the reactionaries and the oligarchically minded of his epoch. That he was not the only one who considered the establishment of some kind of one-man rule as the only way in which the good old times could be brought back is proved by the works of Xenophon, Antisthenes, Plato, and Isokrates.<sup>91</sup> He differed from these men in two respects. Since he was less philosophical and more emotional than any of them, he gave the sentiments of the larger group to which all of them belonged a more direct and more eloquent expression; and he lived to see the fulfillment of their dreams through the conquest of Greece by Philip, a fulfillment which turned out to be bitterly disappointing.

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<sup>91</sup> See my article, *Pol. Sci. Quar.*, LVI, 51 ff.

## THE ORIGIN AND SIGNIFICANCE OF FEUDALISM<sup>1</sup>

IN 1850 Paul Roth, professor of law at Marburg, published a remarkable book on the beginnings of what we are accustomed to call the feudal system.<sup>2</sup> This subject, the author remarks in his introduction, is of prime importance and has already received much attention. But those who have treated it, he is convinced, have all too often ignored the clear evidence of the sources for the sake of theses dictated by national or social prejudice. Thus Montesquieu, as a loyal member of the French nobility, has ably presented the argument that the Frankish state was never without a feudal nobility, for feudal institutions were implicit in the custom of the conquering Germans. Later writers, though inspired by opposite sentiments, have used the same reasoning to justify the Revolution of 1789—to condemn the pretensions of the nobility as a vestige of the feudal anarchy created by barbarian invaders. Even the more recent school of French historians, led by François Guizot and Benjamin Guérard, continues to depict the Germans as destroyers of civilization, who substituted for the orderly government of Rome the chaotic relationships of vassals and lords. And German scholars, notably Karl Friedrich Eichhorn, have tended meekly to accept the conclusions of the French. Georg Waitz, it is true, has now given a masterly description of the ancient Germans, proving that they were organized in true states, not in mere bands under chieftains; yet, when he comes to the establishment of the Frankish kingdom, he abandons his original position and portrays vassalage as fundamental to the Merovingian constitution. This, declares Roth, is fatal to an understanding of the most important subject in the entire history of German law—the destruction of the royal authority.

<sup>1</sup> To introduce a discussion on this subject, parts of the following article were read at the meeting of the Mediaeval Academy in April, 1940; and I welcome the opportunity of thanking those who participated in the discussion for a number of very useful criticisms. At the same time I wish to express my indebtedness to Dr. E. K. Graham's dissertation, *Anglo-Saxon Vassalage* (Cornell University, 1938), for a better understanding of the early literature that constitutes his principal source. It is also fair to state that the members of my seminar during the year 1939-40 have had no small share in the study here presented. By reading many books and documents together we all, I am sure, learned much more than any of us would have learned alone.

<sup>2</sup> *Geschichte des Beneficialwesens von den ältesten Zeiten bis ins zehnte Jahrhundert* (Erlangen, 1850).

How did it come about, Roth asks, that so great a people, at one time the dominant power and the cultural leader of Europe, was plunged from its high estate, to lose piecemeal in a four-hundred-year agony all that it had hitherto gained? The pitiful allegation of Niebuhr and other misguided historians that the Germans are by nature devoid of political sense, of all talent for state building as even for national union, he indignantly rejects. The true cause of the German misfortunes is to be seen in the vicious constitution of the feudal state, a sham monarchy that was actually the denial of all public authority.<sup>3</sup> Roth undertakes to prove that originally "the basis of the German state was not vassalage, not the dependence of a band upon a chieftain, but the simple relationship of subject to sovereign (*Unterthanverband*), the dependence of every freeman upon the common ruler of the state".<sup>4</sup> And through this demonstration the comforting certainty may be perceived that the anarchy of the Middle Ages, "eine mit etwas Kultur bedeckte Barbarei der schlimmsten Art", was the direct opposite of all that Germans had anciently stood for; that the constitutional changes in their modern states have marked a return, essentially, to the primitive Germanic system.<sup>5</sup>

Whatever may be thought of Roth's conclusion—in which, itself, a certain tinge of nationalistic prejudice may be detected—his criticism of his predecessors was not without justification. Montesquieu's famous chapters "Des lois féodales",<sup>6</sup> a scholarly piece of work for the age in which it was produced, established the basis for all future discussion of feudal origins. According to Montesquieu the essence of feudalism lay in the custom of vassalage, which can be traced back to the *comitatus* described by Tacitus. To vassalage the fief was entirely subordinate, being a form of pay for loyal service. The earliest fiefs were horses, arms, and food; for it was the Frankish conquest of Gaul that first provided lands wherewith chieftains could reward their followers. On Roman soil, Montesquieu holds, the Franks still maintained their ancient customs. The *comites* of Tacitus reappear in the later documents as *antrustions*, *leudes*, *fidèles*, or *vassaux*; the properties bestowed on them as *biens fiscaux*, *bénéfices*, *honneurs*, or *fiefs*. And from the beginning these grants included not only economic control of the

<sup>3</sup> See especially Roth's introduction to his *Feudalität und Unterthanverband* (Weimar, 1863), which was written in reply to the criticism of Waitz (below, n. 22).

<sup>4</sup> *Geschichte des Beneficialwesens*, p. vii.

<sup>5</sup> *Feudalität und Unterthanverband*, pp. 34-35.

<sup>6</sup> *De l'esprit des lois* (first published at Geneva in 1748), Bks. XXX-XXXI.

peasant population but also what was to become known as seignorial justice.<sup>7</sup>

Since, Montesquieu continues, the fiefs originally created through the distribution of conquered lands were revocable at will, neither the royal vassals nor the subvassals to whom they gave estates could enjoy more than a precarious title. The introduction of tenure for a term of years, or even for life, made no radical change in the situation. It was not until fiefs were permitted to become hereditary that subinfeudation attained a dangerous growth—encouraging the mass of freemen to commend themselves with their lands to the more powerful nobles and so, eventually, to remove themselves from the direct control of the royal government. The formulation of a policy tending in this direction can be attributed to Charles Martel, who despoiled the church in order to obtain lands for a second distribution of fiefs. Thereby the Carolingian monarchy was committed to a ruinous policy that reached its culmination under the sons of Louis the Pious. The kings, defied by the few great vassals upon whom the multitude depended, lost all effective power. “L’arbre étendit trop loin ses branches, et la tête se sécha. Le royaume se trouva sans domaine, comme est aujourd’hui l’Empire. On donna la couronne à un des plus puissants vassaux.” Here, with the rise of the Capetian house, Montesquieu brings his acute analysis to a close.<sup>8</sup>

As remarked by Roth, Montesquieu’s opinion came to be generally adopted by succeeding writers, most of whom agreed that feudalism was by origin Germanic and that it was thoroughly bad. So Eichhorn, in the first volume of his pioneer work on the legal history of Germany,<sup>9</sup> describes Frankish vassalage as derived from the German *comitatus* and coming to be associated with the benefice system through grants made by the Merovingian kings to their *antrustiones* and *leudes*. In subsequent chapters he passes rapidly over the increasing power of the greater vassals, their alliance with the Austrasian mayors, Charles Martel’s secularization of church estates, the growth of subinfeudation, and the tendency of fiefs to become hereditary. The final result, declares Eichhorn, was the feudalism that proved the bane of his country—a system under which functions of government were combined with the holding of particular lands, under which the nation, split into fragments with conflicting interests, existed only by virtue of a common culture.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Bk. XXX, chaps. III, XVI f.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Bk. XXXI, chaps. IX–XXXII.

<sup>9</sup> *Deutsche Staats- und Rechtsgeschichte* (4th ed., Göttingen, 1834). The first volume originally appeared in 1808.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, §§26, 27, 120 f., 141, 167, 205, 286.

The argument was one that could be readily turned to political advantage by a clever Frenchman. Thus Guizot, in his famous lectures of 1829,<sup>11</sup> describes the feudal system as at best "a first step out of barbarism". Although the primitive freedom of the barbarian—the right to do what one pleases at one's own risk—came to be limited through the influence of hereditary fiefs, vassalage always permitted an excessive individualism. Political and social progress became possible only when feudalism, itself incapable of development, yielded to the rejuvenated monarchy in alliance with the Third Estate. But even so qualified a recognition of Germanic freedom is repudiated by Guérard, the scholarly editor of the *Polyptyque de l'abbé Irminon*. He refuses to admit that the savage invaders of his country knew any form of liberty, individual or public. Barbarism and destruction, he asserts, were the sole contribution of "the people that Germany vomited upon Gaul". Under their domination society lacked all feeling of common interest. Force ruled. The weak, in order to live, commended themselves to the strong.<sup>12</sup> "Alors il n'eut plus de patrie; et ce nom, tout-puissant dans l'antiquité, fut sans vertu et sans signification."

Opinions of this sort could not long go unchallenged by the rising school of German historians, and first in the field was Waitz—though Roth considered him but a feeble champion. Waitz, it must be admitted, was somewhat cautious; he left his eight volumes of *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*<sup>13</sup> to stand without introduction, summary, or conclusion. Yet he evidently shared the current opinion that feudalism implied political disintegration and sought to clear the German name of responsibility for the evil institution.<sup>14</sup> So, in his first volume, Waitz offers proof that the primitive Germans were no mere savages. Rightly interpreted, the famous description by Tacitus shows that they had true political organizations headed by kings and princes and that only such elected rulers were surrounded by sworn bands of warlike companions. The personal fidelity of the latter, far from being incompatible with the existence of public authority, was closely subordinated to it. But among the early Germans, declares Waitz, the *comitatus* was at most an exceptional arrangement, which hardly survived the Frankish occupation of

<sup>11</sup> Published in 1830 under the title, *Histoire de la civilisation en France*, 2d ed. (Paris, 1840), onzième leçon.

<sup>12</sup> *Polyptyque de l'abbé Irminon*, ed. by Guérard, I (Paris, 1844), 199 f.

<sup>13</sup> First ed., Kiel, 1844-78.

<sup>14</sup> Waitz more clearly expressed his view in an article of 1861, reprinted in *Abhandlungen zur deutschen Verfassungs- und Rechtsgeschichte von G. Waitz* (Göttingen, 1896), pp. 314 f.

Gaul. Except for the Merovingian *antrustiones*, the armed guards of the king, the *comitatus* appears in the later period solely as a literary tradition, preserved in *Beowulf* and in other epics celebrating the deeds of ancient heroes.<sup>15</sup> The vassalage of the later Frankish kingdom was not derived from the German *comitatus* but from the Gallo-Roman *patrocinium*—a relationship by which, for the sake of protection, lesser freemen often bound themselves to the powerful. At the same time, through a process that may be obscurely traced under the Merovingian kings, the Roman *precarium* (or *precaria*), land held by a tenant at the will of a donor, was developed into the benefice or fief, an estate conferred on a vassal in return for specified service.<sup>16</sup> Thus reduced to its constituent elements, the feudal system must be recognized as quite alien to the Germanic polity.

To appreciate the force of Waitz's argument, we have to read between the lines. In the case of Roth, as already remarked, that is not necessary; he never leaves us to guess at his purpose in writing. After an excellent beginning, he says, Waitz has failed to do full justice to the national cause. The Frankish monarchy, as a soundly Germanic state, was never to the slightest degree feudalized until the eighth century.<sup>17</sup> Vassalage, Roth was willing to concede, was derived from the ancient *comitatus*; for the *vassi dominici* of the Carolingians were only the *antrustiones* under another name. But this, he insists, is by no means to admit that the promiscuous vassalage of the feudal age was a Merovingian institution. The old Frankish law permitted no *Privatgefolgschaften*—no subordination of freemen to any persons except the king and the officials whom he appointed and dismissed at pleasure. Vassalage, even in the more primitive stage of the *comitatus*, was essentially a public relationship: the followers swore fealty to their leader, gave him warlike service, and were subject to his judicial control. The source of vassalage could not therefore be the *patrocinium*, which had never been more than a private relationship under the Romans and so remained under the Merovingians.<sup>18</sup> The original Frankish constitu-

<sup>15</sup> *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, I (3rd ed., Kiel, 1880), 236 f., 371 f.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, II<sup>1</sup> (3rd ed., Kiel, 1882), 330 f.; IV (2d ed., Berlin, 1885), 176 f., 234 f., 287 f. In medieval Latin *precarium* was generally supplanted by the feminine *precaria*.

<sup>17</sup> See especially *Feudalität und Unterthanverband*, pp. 1, 31.

<sup>18</sup> *Geschichte des Beneficialwesens*, pp. 1 f., 105 f., 146 f., 276 f., 367 f.; *Feudalität und Unterthanverband*, pp. 205 f., 231 f. More specifically, Roth declares that the *leudes* of the Merovingian period were identical with *fideles*, merely the faithful subjects of the king; that the *pueri*, *satellites*, *gasindi*, and similar members of private households, who performed duties like those of the later vassals, were unfree servants.

tion, furthermore, recognized no such thing as a fief, even under the name of *beneficium*. When the Merovingian kings conferred estates upon their retainers, the grants were in full ownership; the *precariae* held of churches or other private donors carried with them no political privilege and specified no military service.<sup>19</sup> The all-important question, therefore, is how the right to have vassals came to be enjoyed by a horde of *seniores*, who at the same time secured possession of fiefs that implied governmental authority over masses of free inhabitants.

It was the secularization of ecclesiastical estates, Roth declares, that "provided the means for transforming the kingdom of the Franks into the feudal state".<sup>20</sup> Charles Martel, faced with the need of a more efficient army and having no domains of the crown at his disposal, took the drastic step of distributing various lands of the church among his vassals in return for quotas of troops. And since the legal title remained with the despoiled abbeys and bishoprics, these lands could be granted to the actual holders only as *precariae verbo regis*, as benefices to be enjoyed on condition that the specified service was regularly performed. Systematized by Pepin and Charlemagne, the new form of tenure was quickly extended to other properties—to those obtained by vassals from private lords as well as to those obtained from the king. For the recipient of a royal benefice was authorized to bestow similar benefices upon other tenants in order that they might equip themselves as part of his contingent. The feudalizing process, thus launched, soon gained irresistible headway. For a while the Carolingians were able to maintain the old German tradition of a centralized state; then the unscrupulous aristocracy, turning upon the power that had so blindly fostered it, reduced the monarchy to impotence. By the tenth century public offices, royal revenues, military command, judicial authority—the general control of the free population—had alike become mere appurtenances to fiefs and so, according to what was already the established custom, hereditary possessions of the new-grown feudal nobility.<sup>21</sup>

The great originality of Roth's thesis lay in its exposition of the feudal system as an innovation of the eighth century. To most of his predecessors, headed by Montesquieu, the essence of feudalism had been the Germanic custom of vassalage, to which fief holding with all its implications was a natural supplement. Even Waitz, although he

<sup>19</sup> *Geschichte des Beneficialwesens*, pp. 203 f.; *Feudalität und Unterthanverband*, pp. 37 f. <sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 128.

<sup>21</sup> *Geschichte des Beneficialwesens*, pp. 313 f., 392 f., 416 f.; *Feudalität und Unterthanverband*, pp. 71 f., 244 f., 315 f., 322 f.



denied the attribution of feudalism to German influence, explained the system as a gradual development out of institutions already prevalent in the Merovingian kingdom. And this opinion he resolutely maintained despite all that Roth could aver to the contrary.<sup>22</sup> In particular, he declared, Roth could produce no evidence to account for the deliberate feudalization of the state by the early Carolingians. They were, in fact, quite as German as the Merovingians. Why should the younger house, with all its genius for war and politics, have abandoned the time-honored principles of the Frankish monarchy? Under pressure of what necessity could Charles Martel, the restorer of the kingdom, have been induced to create a system of military benefices and thereby to inaugurate the fatal extension of vassalage? The best solution Roth had to offer was that the impoverishment of the ordinary freemen came to preclude their fighting distant campaigns without pay. An unconvincing argument Waitz called it—and in this opinion he was followed by Heinrich Brunner.<sup>23</sup>

Thanks to the careful research and eminent good sense of that fine scholar, our understanding of the whole controversial subject has been greatly improved. Roth's thesis, Brunner concludes, is sound insofar as it derives the feudal state from the union of two distinct institutions, vassalage and the benefice, brought about in the eighth century.<sup>24</sup> Besides, Roth has correctly insisted upon the military *Gefolgschaft* of the primitive Germans as the source of medieval vassalage, which was based on warlike service. To deny, with Waitz, this elementary fact is utterly to misconceive the problem under discussion.<sup>25</sup> In the main Brunner also agrees with Roth's explanation of the military benefice as a legal result of the Carolingian secularizations.<sup>26</sup> But Roth, in Brun-

<sup>22</sup> *Über die Anfänge der Vassalität* (Göttingen, 1856), which includes criticism that Waitz repeated and amplified in the later editions of his *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*.

<sup>23</sup> *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte* (1st ed., Leipzig, 1887-92). The second edition (Vol. I, Leipzig, 1906; Vol. II, Leipzig, 1928, ed. by Claudius von Schwerin) incorporates Brunner's later work on the origins of the feudal system. More detailed treatment of particular topics is to be found in his collection of special articles, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des deutschen und französischen Rechts* (Stuttgart, 1894), pp. 1-87.

<sup>24</sup> *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, II, 329.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 186 f., II, 134 f., 349 f., 360: "Sowohl der rechtsgeschichtliche als der politische Schwerpunkt der Vassalität liegt in der kriegerischen Dienstpflicht der Vasallen. Wer sie bestreitet, bemüht sich vergebens, die Ausbildung und Verbreitung der ganzen Institution zu erklären." As will be shown below, Brunner does not exclude the possibility of a certain Gallo-Roman influence.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 289 f., II, 329 f. But in this connection Brunner follows a suggestion of Waitz in holding that the charters of the Merovingian kings, despite the traditional Roman forms, often gave the recipient no more than a restricted title to his land. Conditional

ner's judgment, has failed to appreciate the ultimate significance of the new policy. The rapid extension of vassalage, henceforth associated with benefice holding, was the inevitable consequence of a military revolution—a change from infantry to cavalry as the dominating element in the Frankish army. The Merovingian *antrustiones*, like the members of the ancient *comitatus*, had generally served on horseback; but until the eighth century the mass of the royal forces had consisted of foot soldiers. The experience of warfare, especially with the Saracens, now demanded a reversal of the situation; hence the lavish bestowal upon vassals of estates to be held on condition of furnishing mounted troops.<sup>27</sup> Hence also the anxiety of the government to defend and increase the liberties of the holders; for the military benefice was no mere source of private income to the fortunate possessor. The capitularies show that, as indicated by Waitz, land held by a royal vassal in return for military service was officially considered a sort of immunity—a privileged territory within which the lord exercised fiscal, judicial, and other political functions.<sup>28</sup>

According to Brunner, therefore, what we know as feudalism was based on a new tenurial system developed by the Frankish rulers of the eighth century—a system of military benefices held by vassals on condition of regularly owed service. Before the end of the Carolingian period it was already the rule for a vassal to obtain such a benefice and for his title to be *de facto* hereditary. By that time, too, the major offices in church and state were coming to be regarded as benefices.<sup>29</sup> But throughout this whole new development the “impelling factor” was vassalage,<sup>30</sup> and the source of vassalage was the primitive *comitatus*. Here, it is worth noting, Brunner renders no moral or patriotic judgment upon feudalism—as to whether it was good or bad, was or was not Germanic. Tacitly reverting to the opinion of Montesquieu, he simply concludes that, as a matter of historical fact, vassalage can be traced back to the custom of the early Germans which permitted any freeman to have an armed *Gefolgschaft*.<sup>31</sup>

Much remains to be said of Brunner's views on particular questions, but for the moment attention must be turned to a monograph published

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tenures for the benefit of royal retainers had thus actually existed long before the eighth century (*Forschungen zur Geschichte des deutschen und französischen Rechts*, pp. 1 f.).

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 39 f.

<sup>28</sup> *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, II, 344, 383 f. Cf. Waitz, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, IV, 294 f. <sup>29</sup> *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, II, 344 f. <sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 368.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 187, n. 32, II, 351 f. See below, n. 46.

between the dates of the first and second editions of the *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*. In his brilliant *Essai* of 1902 Paul Guilhiermoz re-examines the writings of the late Roman Empire and there discovers what he takes to be convincing evidence for the origin of medieval vassalage. During the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, he points out, not only the emperors but also the masters of troops were accustomed to surround themselves with bands of household guards usually called *scholares* or *buccellarii*. In spite of the fact that the members of such a band were often of German birth, the organization itself was utterly different from the Germanic *comitatus*. The latter was fundamentally aristocratic in that it was made up of free tribesmen who considered the bearing of arms a mark of distinction and companionship with a famous warrior a source of honor. The Roman *scholares*, on the contrary, were mercenaries selected only for their soldierly prowess; though many of them were legally free, their social rank was hardly above that of the armed slaves who were frequently employed in the same capacity.<sup>32</sup> The *buccellarii* of the Visigoths and Ostrogoths settled within the imperial provinces differed in no way from the rest. The Gothic leaders, evidently, continued a Roman practice that had already been adopted by such barbarian generals as Stilicho and Ricimer. And the Merovingian *antrustiones* were nothing else than *scholares* or *buccellarii* under a Frankish name—royal bodyguards, free or unfree, whose legal status was merely that enjoyed by all menials in the king's palace.<sup>33</sup> Through an elaborate argument—of which more below—Guilhiermoz then proceeds to show how the *antrustiones* formed the nucleus from which sprang the Carolingian *vassi* and so, ultimately, the French nobility.

Here, in brief, are the principal theories which were offered by earlier writers to explain the development of feudalism and which are still influential; for lively debate on the subject has been continued in a number of recent books.<sup>34</sup> The present trend of the discussion, however,

<sup>32</sup> Guilhiermoz, *Essai sur l'origine de la noblesse en France au moyen âge* (Paris, 1902), pp. 5-37. Although Guilhiermoz has been accused of exaggerating the aristocratic character of the *comitatus*, his main point, that the profession of arms was essentially honorable among the Germans but not at all so among the Romans, can hardly be denied.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 38-70. The inclusion of the Lombard *gasindi* in the same category raises a number of questions which Guilhiermoz tends to ignore (see below, n. 45).

<sup>34</sup> At this point it will be convenient to list various modern works to which reference can henceforth be made by citing a brief title or merely the author's name: Alfons Dopsch, *Wirtschaftliche und soziale Grundlagen der europäischen Kulturentwicklung* (2d ed., Vienna, 1923-24); G. von Below, *Der deutsche Staat des Mittelalters* (2d ed., Leipzig, 1925); Ferdinand Lot, in Gustave Glotz, *Histoire générale: Histoire du moyen âge*, I (Paris, 1928-35), chap. xxv; Heinrich Mitteis, *Lehnrecht und Staatsgewalt* (Weimar,

can hardly be understood until the main question at issue is clearly defined. What precisely do we mean when we talk of "feudalism"? The concept, it would seem, is a wholly modern one; neither the English word nor its equivalent in any other language was apparently invented much before the nineteenth century.<sup>35</sup> Although men in the Middle Ages were quite familiar with vassals and fiefs and with vassalage and feudal tenure, they apparently did not think in terms of a broad feudal theory—a set of feudal principles by which to construct a social and political framework. To have any validity, therefore, whatever generalization we make must be squarely based on our knowledge of actual institutions. And those institutions must be of the region where the custom properly called feudal was first developed—that is to say, medieval Gaul. A sociology of feudalism there may be, but only comparison with the original feudalism can rightly determine the feudal character of some other custom, wherever it may have existed.<sup>36</sup>

Turning then to the native land of feudalism, we have no trouble in finding the central institution from which our word is derived. It was the *feudum* or fief. Yet this is not the primary element to be examined. Feudalism, as acutely remarked by Lot, presupposes vassalage; for a fief could not exist apart from a vassal to hold it.<sup>37</sup> "On est convenu de

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1933); Hermann Krawinkel, *Untersuchungen zum fränkischen Benefizialrecht* (Weimar, 1937); J. Calmette, *La société féodale* (Paris, 1938); Marc Bloch, *La société féodale* (Paris, 1939). Dopsch has supplemented his *Wirtschaftliche und soziale Grundlagen* with a number of articles, notably two: "Die leudes und das Lehenswesen" and "Beneficialwesen und Feudalität", *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung* (henceforth *M.Ö.I.G.*), XLI (1926), 35 f., and XLVI (1932), 1 f. Two of the many excellent articles by F. L. Ganshof may also be mentioned here: "Note sur les origines de l'union du bénéfice avec la vassalité", in *Études d'histoire dédiées à la mémoire de Henri Pirenne, par ses anciens élèves* (Brussels, 1937), pp. 173 f.; "Benefice and Vassalage in the Age of Charlemagne", *Cambridge Historical Journal*, VI (1939), 147 f. Among the older books that remain particularly useful because of recent editions are A. Esmein, *Cours élémentaire d'histoire du droit français*, ed. by R. Génestal (15th ed., Paris, 1925), and Richard Schröder, *Lehrbuch der deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*, ed. by Eberhard von Künssberg (7th ed., Berlin, 1932). Additional titles in great number will be found in the bibliographies and notes of the works here cited.

<sup>35</sup> No example of "feudalism" earlier than that is given in the *New Oxford Dictionary*, though the expression "feudal system" is cited from Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*. *Féodalité*, used in the same sense, does not appear in French writings until the eighteenth century (Bloch, pp. 1-3). Montesquieu, as already remarked, entitled his famous chapters "Des lois féodales".

<sup>36</sup> I am inclined to agree with those scholars who find the ordinary remarks about feudalism in the abstract either so vague as to be historically useless or so inaccurate as to be historically dangerous: Lot, p. 641; Calmette, p. 1; Below, pp. 332 f.; Mitteis, p. 3.

<sup>37</sup> Lot, p. 676, n. 188; cf. Guilhiermoz, p. 236. On the introduction of the vernacular "fief" see Lot, p. 675; Mitteis, pp. 108 f.; Bloch, pp. 254 f.

parler de 'féodalité' et non de 'vassalité' à partir du moment où il n'y a plus en fait, sauf de rares exceptions, de vassal sans fief." The status of vassal, we know from countless documents of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, could always be acquired, with or without the prospect of a fief, merely by performing homage and swearing fealty.<sup>38</sup> And solely in this way could one become a vassal. Although fiefs might be declared hereditary, vassalage was never inherited. When a vassal died, his fief legally reverted to the lord, in whose hands it remained until such time as the heir performed homage and so qualified himself to receive investiture.<sup>39</sup> Only a vassal could properly be a fief holder, and there can be no doubt that, in the feudal age proper, vassalage was restricted to mature men. The reason is clear: a vassal was supposed to be a warrior. Clergymen, it is true, often held fiefs while debarred from bloodshed by canon law. But the qualifications that came to be put on their homage and fealty were plainly the result of compromise. At one time ecclesiastical vassals had fought like the rest; it was the Hildebrandine papacy that finally compelled the making of exceptions in their favor.<sup>40</sup> Feudal tenure, whatever its minor adaptations, was essentially military because the original vassalage was a military relationship.

Here, if I am not mistaken, is the key to the whole development of feudalism—the justification for the emphasis long placed on the problem of its origin. No amount of legalistic reasoning can obscure the fact that the feudal aristocracy of the eleventh century differed radically from the Roman aristocracy of the fourth in being thoroughly warlike. And this character, beyond all question, was a barbarian inheritance. Is it mere coincidence that the vassalage glorified in the *chansons de geste* is so close in spirit to the primitive *comitatus*?<sup>41</sup> To derive vassalage

<sup>38</sup> Vassals without fiefs were by no means unheard of in the later Middle Ages. Guilhaume, pp. 242 f.; Bloch, pp. 260 f.; Mitteis, pp. 519 f. On homage and fealty see particularly Esmein, pp. 189 f.; Calmette, pp. 30 f.; Bloch, pp. 224 f.; Mitteis, pp. 479 f. The primary and decisive element in the ceremony was homage, for in the twelfth century, as in the Frankish period, it was always possible for one man to swear fealty to another without becoming his vassal. In other words, although any vassal could properly be styled a *fidelis*, all *fideles* were not vassals. This fact, which has been obscured in too many standard books, is a familiar one in Anglo-Norman law; for Continental evidence see Guilhaume, p. 255. The earlier history of homage and fealty will be discussed below.

<sup>39</sup> This was the generally recognized custom (described especially well by Esmein, pp. 195 f.), though a powerless lord—e.g., the French king in the eleventh century—was unable to enforce it. See below, n. 86.

<sup>40</sup> A. Pöschl, "Die Entstehung des geistlichen Benefiziums", *Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht*, CVI (1926), 25 f., 89 f.; Mitteis, pp. 74 f., 179 f.

<sup>41</sup> This fact is well brought out, in the midst of much fanciful speculation, by Jacques

from the Gallo-Roman *patrocinium*, one must somewhere, in the course of a devious argument, introduce a revolutionizing factor.<sup>42</sup> Historians who have no passionate interest in disproving the Germanic origin of feudalism might well be expected, like Brunner, to prefer the simpler theory of Montesquieu. But to most it has seemed possible to accept that theory only with various qualifications; for the alleged persistence of the *comitatus* among the Franks has been found hard to prove, especially in the face of telling criticism by Guilhiermoz.<sup>43</sup> His thesis, it will be remembered, depends on two identifications: that of the Merovingian *antrustiones* with the Roman *scholares* and that of the Carolingian *vassi* with the *antrustiones*. By reviewing the evidence for each of these identifications we may test not only them but the Montesquieu-Brunner theory as well.

First we have the familiar account of the *comitatus* in the *Germania* of Tacitus, supplemented by other literature that indicates a widespread existence of the custom among later invaders of the imperial lands.<sup>44</sup>

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Flach, *Les origines de l'ancienne France*, II (Paris, 1893), 431 f. Guilhiermoz also makes constant use of the *chansons de geste* in his splendid chapters on the relation between the later vassalage and chivalry; cf. Bloch, pp. 354 f.

<sup>42</sup> For example, George Burton Adams attributes the change to the influence of the *comitatus* itself. *Civilization during the Middle Ages* (revised ed., New York, 1922), p. 202. His article, "Feudalism", in the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* suggests that the *patrocinium* was adopted by the Franks mainly because, unlike the *comitatus*, "it was not confined to king or tribal chief" (see above, n. 31). The disconnected writings of Fustel de Coulanges positively affirm the Roman origin of feudalism and admirably describe the nonmilitary patronage and the nonmilitary benefice in Frankish Gaul but lapse into vague conjecture when approaching the question of how these institutions became militarized. *Histoire des institutions politiques de l'ancienne France: Les origines du système féodal*, ed. by Camille Jullian (Paris, 1890), especially pp. 12, 152, 247, 280, 316; cf. Lot, pp. 643-57 and n. 95. Waitz, denying that vassalage as such implied any military obligations, seeks to explain the latter as arising out of the benefices acquired by vassals, in spite of the fact that the original benefices were nonmilitary *precariae*. In this respect, as concluded by Brunner (above, n. 25), the criticism of Roth is unanswerable; cf. Mitteis, p. 177.

<sup>43</sup> Brunner, though inclined (*Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, I, 60) to agree with Seeck as against Guilhiermoz that the imperial guard of *scholares* was an adaptation of the Germanic *comitatus* on Roman soil, admits (*ibid.*, II, 354) that the Gallo-Roman custom of maintaining unfree household troops may have influenced the development of vassalage in Neustria. Cf. Dopsch, *Wirtschaftliche und soziale Grundlagen*, II, 304 f.; Mitteis, p. 20; Schröder, pp. 168 f.; Calmette, p. 16; Bloch, p. 233. Lot, after agreeing with Brunner that the Roman *scholares* resembled the *comites* of Tacitus and without referring to the fact that the armed *pueri* of great persons in the Merovingian kingdom were usually slaves, concludes (p. 661, n. 117) that "les seules vues satisfaisantes sur l'origine de la vassalité privée sont celles de Guilhiermoz".

<sup>44</sup> Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, I, 186-95. See also the notes to the more recent editions of the *Germania*, especially that of Rudolf Much (Heidelberg, 1937).

The German word represented by the *comes* of Tacitus was presumably one related to the Anglo-Saxon *gesid*, which literally means "a companion on a journey"—one eventually turned into *gasindus* by less scrupulous Latinists.<sup>45</sup> As described by Tacitus, at any rate, the *comes* was a free warrior who voluntarily, by a solemn obligation (*sacramentum*), agreed to become the devoted follower of a military chief (*princeps*), sharing his fortunes even to the death in return for sustenance, equipment, and a share of the booty gained in war. The companion might or might not be of a family reputed noble; within the chosen band no such distinction could equal that of valor and loyalty on the field of battle. The chief, as held by Brunner, might be any freeman who could afford the expense of having armed retainers; for Waitz's reading of *princeps* as "prince" in the political sense, though still repeated in a number of books,<sup>46</sup> is hardly supported either by the context of the *Germania* or by any other source.

Following Montesquieu, all nineteenth century historians regarded the Merovingian *antrustiones* as a royal *comitatus*. Then Guilhiermoz advanced the thesis that they were merely imperial *scholares* under another name, and his reasoning is hard to set aside. Our principal source for the Frankish institution is a document preserved in the formulary of Marculf (seventh century).<sup>47</sup> This is a royal notification to the effect that so-and-so, "coming with his arms into our palace, has been seen to swear to us *trustem et fidelitatem in manu nostra*" and is therefore to be reckoned among the *antrustiones* and is to enjoy a special wergeld. The entire formality, as Guilhiermoz has shown, appears Roman rather than Germanic.<sup>48</sup> The *Lex Salica*, furthermore, makes it

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 156; Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, II, 350 f.; Bloch, p. 237; F. Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen* (Halle, 1903-16), II, 427 f. (*Gefolgsadel*). Briefly, the Anglo-Saxon sources indicate that the *gesid* (translated as *comes* by Bede and other Latin writers) was always a freeman; that in addition he was the warlike follower of a chief with whom he lived and for whom, if necessary, he died; that any man of wealth and distinction might be expected to have *gesidas*; that it was presumably those of the king who acquired hereditary noble rank with a wergeld three times that of the *ceorl*. Even Guilhiermoz cannot explain away this evidence, though he continues to regard the *gasindi* of the Lombards as a variety of *buccellarii* (pp. 47 f., 92 f.). The sources, I believe, tend rather to support Brunner's view that the Continental *gasindi* were free *Gefolgsleute*—a matter of some interest, because in the eighth century *vassus* and *gasindus* were sometimes used as synonymous terms.

<sup>46</sup> E.g., Schröder, p. 39; Below, p. 220; and, strangely enough, Lot, p. 660.

<sup>47</sup> *Monumenta Germaniae historica: Legum Sectio V, Formulae*, ed. by Karl Zeumer (Hanover, 1886), p. 55.

<sup>48</sup> Guilhiermoz (pp. 77 f.) is in this particular supported by Mitteis, who (pp. 24 f.) concludes that whatever connection there had been between the *Antrustionat* and the old *Gefolgschaft* left no trace in the formula of Marculf. The oath sworn by the new *antrustio*



clear that the king could choose whomsoever he pleased for his *trust*—Frank or Roman, free or unfree—and that the higher wergeld, three times whatever it would normally have been, was a form of protection shared by all royal servants.<sup>49</sup> The *antrustiones*, it must be admitted, no more resemble the *comites* of Tacitus than do the armed *pueri*, usually slaves, whom Gregory of Tours and other writers describe as guarding all prominent persons in Merovingian society.<sup>50</sup>

To accept the first identification made by Guilhiermoz involves no serious embarrassment; the second is a very different matter. Since, in his opinion, medieval vassalage was derived from the ignoble status of mercenary troops in the late empire, it always retained a certain “quasi-servile” character, as did the ceremony of homage, which implied a sort of bodily subjection. Nevertheless, by the ninth century vassalage had actually lost all taint of unfreedom, for only an honorable relationship could become the basis of feudal nobility. So Guilhiermoz has to introduce a revolutionizing factor of his own—a mysterious influence exerted upon the Franks by the Anglo-Saxons of the eighth century, who had preserved the aristocratic *comitatus* of the ancient Germans in their institution of thegnage. And the social transformation thus wrought made possible the formal establishment of military benefices, which were somehow developed out of the peasant holdings earlier assigned to armed slaves and other lowborn retainers.<sup>51</sup> All this is ingenious but quite unconvincing. The suggestions of Guilhiermoz with regard to Anglo-Saxon influence in the Frankish kingdom and the consequent emergence of the fief have met with general skepticism. His explanation of homage as a reminiscence of serfdom, though supported by various writers, is hardly more than a juristic fancy inspired by belief

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was presumably derived from that commonly taken by Roman soldiers (Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, II, 78 f.). The Frankish word *trust* meant simply protection, here specifically the defense of the king's person (*ibid.*, pp. 34 f.). And historians have generally ceased to understand the vague phrase *in manu nostra* as hiding a reference to homage (see below, n. 56).

<sup>49</sup> Guilhiermoz, p. 67; Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, I, 375, and II, 137.

<sup>50</sup> Guilhiermoz, pp. 19, 49 f.; Roth, *Geschichte des Beneficialwesens*, pp. 152 f.; Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, I, 373 f. Gregory of Tours, it should be noted, does not mention *antrustiones* but evidently includes them among the *pueri regis* (see below, n. 68). The word *trustis* reappears in the Carolingian capitularies to designate either a band of evildoers (like the Anglo-Saxon *hloð*) or a posse for the pursuit of thieves (Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, II, 647, 745). Such usage would hardly have been possible if the word had been commonly applied to an honorable *Gefolgschaft*.

<sup>51</sup> Guilhiermoz accepts the Roth-Brunner thesis as fundamentally true but amends it as here stated (pp. 86 f., 92 f., 102 f., 140 f., 322 f.).

in the quasi-servile character of vassalage.<sup>52</sup> Upon what, aside from the wish to identify the original vassals with the *antrustiones*, does that belief rest?

There is, of course, the derivation of the word *vassus* (or *vassallus*). In the *Lex Salica*, and occasionally in other documents, *vassus* is used to designate an unfree servant.<sup>53</sup> Does this prove that the later *vassi* were the descendants or the successors of slaves? Not at all. *Vassus*, the Latinized form of the Celtic *gwas*, is merely one of many common words for "boy"—such as the Latin *puer* and the Germanic *degan* (thegn), as well as *knecht* (*cniht*, knight).<sup>54</sup> Like their modern counterparts, they might be applied to persons of either high or low degree; and whatever technical meaning one of them might acquire cannot be taken for granted at all times and in all regions. Throughout the Middle Ages the men (*homines*) of a lord (*senior* or *dominus*) could be serfs, free peasants, vassals, or other dependents; while common usage gave the title of lord to the head of a household, the owner of an estate, the ruler of a territory, a prelate of the church, or indeed any person of authority.<sup>55</sup> And as there were various kinds of such superiority, there were various ways of recognizing it. We should always remember that the *commendatio* of Latin writers was an extremely vague term; when we read that somebody thus placed himself under a lord's patronage, protection, or *mund*, we must not suppose that he necessarily became that lord's vassal. Although the ceremony that established vassalage was a form of commendation, it was not the only one.<sup>56</sup> The meaning of *vassus* in the eighth century

<sup>52</sup> See the excellent summary of the question by Lot (p. 667, n. 144), whose remarks apply with equal force to the argument of Mitteis (pp. 31 f.). It may also be pointed out that the ceremony of homage regularly included not merely the submission of the vassal but likewise his recognition by the lord as a social equal—usually through a kiss, or perhaps a present.

<sup>53</sup> Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, I, 372.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 188; Guilhiermoz, pp. 52 f. In later sources *pueri* occasionally appears as the equivalent of *vassalli* or *milites*; cf. the Bayeux Tapestry: "Hic Odo baculum tenens confortat pueros." In the older Anglo-Saxon poetry either a servant or a *gesið* may be called a *þegn*; modifying words show which implication is intended. Eventually, as the honorable implication is taken for granted, *þegn* altogether supplants *gesið*. The verbal change hardly proves the growth of a new nobility based on domestic service: Liebermann, II, 680 f. (Thegn); Guilhiermoz, pp. 92 f.; Graham, as cited above, n. 1.

<sup>55</sup> Bloch, pp. 223 f.; Ganshof, in *Cam. Hist. Jour.*, VI, 171, n. 114.

<sup>56</sup> Bloch, pp. 227 f., 247 f.; Lot, pp. 643 f., 648 f., 666 f.; Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, II, 67 f.; and especially Mitteis, p. 72: "So ist insbesondere die Kommendation bis ins Hochmittelalter hinein immer zu allen möglichen Rechtsgeschäften verwendet worden, die mit dem Vasallenverhältnis gar nichts zu tun hatten. . . . Es ist daher . . . stets auf die Intention zu achten, in der die Kommendationsform gebraucht wird . . . erst

must therefore be determined through a careful reading of contemporary documents rather than from an alleged implication of the word itself.

So far as royal vassals are concerned, all authorities agree that, from the time we first hear of them, they were persons of great distinction. The capitularies constantly refer to *vassi dominici* as exercising political functions alongside counts and bishops, as enjoying special privilege and honor, as frequently possessing rich estates, and in any case as forming the elite of the Frankish army.<sup>57</sup> But the vassals of persons other than the king, it is said, were likely to be men of base condition—dependents whose vassalage, lacking the glory of a royal connection, retained its primitive character.<sup>58</sup> To justify such a view there is, in my opinion, little positive evidence. Texts that impute an inferior status to mere *homines* or *commendati* of a lord need not be interpreted as referring to vassals at all.<sup>59</sup> Whenever vassals are mentioned, no matter whose they are, they regularly appear as fighting men, sharply distinguished by

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der Dativ des Zwecks gibt ein vollständiges Bild des erstrebten rechtsgeschäftlichen Erfolges." How then can Mitteis (pp. 27 f.) find the "root of vassalage" in the commendation described by the formula of Tours no. 43 (Zeumer, p. 158)? That celebrated document tells of a man with insufficient food and clothing, who commends himself for life *in potestate vel mundoburdo* of a magnificent lord. To make a vassal of this poor fellow, who presumably became a peasant, is to perpetuate the confusion of Waitz, so ably criticized by Roth over seventy-five years ago (*Über die Anfänge der Vassalität*, pp. 267 f.). Carolingian writers who tried to be accurate described the ceremony later called homage by such a phrase as *commendatio per manus* or *in vassatico*. See below, n. 65.

<sup>57</sup> Lot, pp. 668 f.; Guilhiermoz, pp. 130 f.; Dopsch, in *M.Ö.I.G.*, XLVI, 19 f.; and especially Ganshof, in *Cam. Hist. Jour.*, VI, 148 f.

<sup>58</sup> For example, Mitteis, pp. 46 f.; Ganshof, in *Cam. Hist. Jour.*, VI, 152 f.; Bloch, pp. 241 f. The idea goes back to a phase of Roth's *Seniorats-theorie* (*Geschichte des Beneficialwesens*, pp. 369 f.; *Über die Anfänge der Vassalität*, pp. 246 f.)—the building of *Privatgefolgschaften* by the newly endowed aristocracy of the eighth century—which was adopted with modifications by Guilhiermoz. But there is no good reason for believing that such *Gefolgschaften* had not existed from the beginning (see above, nn. 31, 46). The very first vassal to be mentioned in the capitularies is the one who follows his lord, a *homo frankus*, to the benefice obtained by the latter and who, after the death of the lord and the acquisition of the benefice by another man, returns to his original lord's family. *Monumenta Germaniae historica: Legum Sectio II, Capitularia*, I, ed. by Alfred Boretius (Hanover, 1883), 38. See Ganshof, in *Études . . . Henri Pirenne*, p. 187. Why Krawinkel (p. 56) should suppose that the vassal in question was unfree I cannot understand.

<sup>59</sup> As is done by Ganshof (in *Cam. Hist. Jour.*, VI, nn. 37-38), when he reads a "bond of vassalage" into the formula of Tours (above, n. 56) and into the Capitulary of Aachen (Boretius, p. 172). The other capitularies that he cites include the one discussed immediately below and two others which, in my opinion, hardly bear out his contention that the vassal's position "can have been little better than that of a servant liable to be punished and dishonored by his master". It is, of course, undeniable that many *vassi non casati* were comparatively poor; but why must we consider them as servile?

their superior equipment from armed peasants in the royal host.<sup>60</sup> Even the capitulary most frequently cited to prove that Carolingian vassalage still had a servile connection tends rather to prove the opposite.

The document in question is Charlemagne's *Capitulare Missorum*, which gives instructions for the swearing of fealty to the king and his sons.<sup>61</sup> On the list of those required to take the oath stand bishops, abbots, counts, and royal vassals; subordinate officials, clerical and lay; the generality of free suitors to the courts, whether mere peasants or the men of the great persons named above; and a variety of lesser people, including at the end serfs who have been honored (*honorati*) with benefices and offices or who have been honored in vassalage (*in bassalatico*), so that they may have horses and bear lance, shield, and sword. In the Carolingian age, as later, it was thus possible for a man of unfree birth to become a vassal, but such procedure appears always to have been exceptional.<sup>62</sup> The clear implication of the capitulary is that the serf so honored has been raised out of his original class; since he is now a mounted warrior, he must, as such, swear fealty to the king.

The conclusion that Carolingian vassalage from first to last was essentially honorable finds support, I believe, in all the pertinent sources. Indirectly the capitularies tell us a good deal about the mutual obligations of lords and vassals. The vassal was bound by oath to maintain unswerving loyalty to his lord; to refuse to follow one's lord on a lawful expedition was to break one's plighted faith.<sup>63</sup> In return the lord owed his vassal protection and respect; if he failed in such duty, the vassal was justified in renouncing him.<sup>64</sup> This relationship was established by the ceremony of homage, the earliest clear reference to which is found in the familiar story of Tassilo, duke of Bavaria.<sup>65</sup> Whether written in 757 or some thirty years later, the account in the royal annals is good evidence that "commendation in vassalage" was a well-known Frankish custom by the second half of the eighth century and one in which

<sup>60</sup> Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, II, 282 f.; and above all Guilhiermoz, who cites a wealth of evidence in his second and third chapters.

<sup>61</sup> Boretius, p. 66. The following interpretation is based on the text as it stands, which is from a single, very corrupt manuscript.

<sup>62</sup> Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, II, 283; Lot, p. 667, n. 144.

<sup>63</sup> Boretius, p. 41: Pepin's *Decretum Vermeriense*, which declares that if a wife refuses to go with her husband when he follows his lord, *cui fidem mentiri non poterit*, she may not remarry during the man's lifetime, though he may. The fealty binding the husband indicates that he was a vassal. See below, n. 71; Mitteis, pp. 44 f.

<sup>64</sup> Boretius, p. 215.

<sup>65</sup> It has been told in all the books on early feudal institutions—most recently by Mitteis, pp. 65 f., and Krawinkel, pp. 48 f. Cf. Ganshof, in *Cam. Hist. Jour.*, VI, 155 f.

contemporaries saw no ignominy. For here, as in the long series of like episodes that followed, the ruler employed vassalage for the purpose not of disgracing a rival but of securing his fidelity. The policy was quite similar to that adopted with a view to controlling officials of church or state and even members of the royal family.<sup>66</sup>

On the whole, I find it incredible that the vassalage which suddenly appears in the records of the eighth century was in any respect a new development. Nor can I believe that the resemblance between this traditional vassalage and the Germanic *comitatus* was a matter of sheer coincidence. Yet, if the connection between the two is not provided by the *antrustiones*, where is it to be found? By reviving an older view with regard to the Merovingian *leudes* (or *leodes*), Alfons Dopsch has suggested a possible answer.<sup>67</sup> Here, briefly, is the evidence. Gregory of Tours, who almost never uses a Germanic word, mentions *leudes* (i.e., *leute*) three times—clearly implying that such “people” of a king were his, not in the general sense of political subjects but in the special sense of military followers.<sup>68</sup> Men of this kind seem also to be thought of in the peace of Guntram and Childebert II (587), who agree not to entice or to receive each other’s *leudes*.<sup>69</sup> And the vaguer references in other sources at least indicate that the persons styled *leudes* belonged to the warrior class, were likely to be politically and socially prominent, and often received grants of land from the royal fisc.<sup>70</sup> Accordingly, the Merovingian oath of *fidelitas et leudesamio*<sup>71</sup> may well be under-

<sup>66</sup> Guilhaumez, pp. 127-28.

<sup>67</sup> In *M.O.J.G.*, XLI, 35 f. Dopsch rejects the entire argument of Roth (above, n. 18), hitherto accepted by virtually all authorities (e.g., Guilhaumez, p. 52, n. 3), and in so doing necessarily goes back to the views of Eichhorn and Montesquieu. Dopsch’s chief concern (as in his *Wirtschaftliche und soziale Grundlagen*, II, chap. IV) is to prove an intimate connection between vassalage and benefice holding throughout the Merovingian period—a thesis for which, it seems to me, he produces quite insufficient evidence.

<sup>68</sup> *Historia Francorum*, II, 42; III, 23; VIII, 9. In the first of these instances Gregory tells us that Clovis seduced King Ragnachar’s *leudes* with golden bracelets and sword belts (a reminiscence, as Dopsch points out, of the lordly ringgiver in Anglo-Saxon poetry); in the second that King Theudebert, when attacked, was successfully defended by his *leudes*; in the third that King Guntram suspected one of his *leudes* as the father of Prince Lothair.

<sup>69</sup> Boretius, p. 14.

<sup>70</sup> The pertinent writings, some of which have dubious value, are cited by Dopsch and Roth to support opposite opinions. Neither extreme has to be accepted. As Brunner remarks (*Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, II, 14, n. 16), it is quite possible that the word *leudes* might sometimes have the broader meaning of people in general; cf. the familiar uses of the Latin *homines*.

<sup>71</sup> We have only this vague description in a document preserved by Marculf (Zeumer, p. 68). The sources are meager, but they definitely indicate that, contrary to Roth’s belief, both the Merovingians and the Carolingians sought to bind all subjects to the king by the

stood as having anticipated the oath demanded by Charlemagne of every free subject, that he would be faithful to the emperor "as a man rightly should be to his lord".

We now realize that the Merovingian state, far from being the noble Germanic structure imagined by Roth, was a pseudo-Roman sham that utterly collapsed under the degenerate successors of Clovis. With it disappeared many vestiges of the old imperial government, including apparently the Frankish imitation of the Roman *scholares*. Much more vigorous than any such vestiges was the native custom of the barbarian conquerors, especially that governing the life of the warlike aristocracy. Within this sphere the persistence of what we call vassalage must be considered a strong probability. Guilhiermoz, I think, has rightly insisted that the chivalrous *adoubement* of the Middle Ages, despite the utter silence of the Merovingian records, must be traced back to the formal arming of the German youth as described by Tacitus. He even suggests that the substitution of homage for the Roman exchange of documents in commendation was a consequence "of the recrudescence of Germanism that accompanied the rise to power of the Austrasian family of the Arnulfings".<sup>72</sup> Why may we not attribute the whole Carolingian development of vassalage to this same factor, rather than to juristic necessity or to an imaginary Anglo-Saxon influence? At any rate, the little information to be gained from the wretched sources of the early Frankish age points to the military retainers styled *leudes*, in preference to the palace guards styled *antrustiones*, as the precursors of the Carolingian *vassi*.<sup>73</sup>

If the foregoing argument is well grounded, there is no reason for supposing any great change in the institution of vassalage under the Carolingians except that now produced by close association with fief

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same oath of fealty as traditionally bound a man to his lord. Dopsch, as cited above; Mitteis, pp. 25 f., 47 f.; Ganshof, in *Cam. Hist. Jour.*, VI, 171 f.; Boretius, pp. 63, 92, 101 f., 124. Cf. the doom of King Edmund; Liebermann, I, 190, II, 556 (*Königstreue*), 577 (*Mannschaftseid*). If this view is correct, the medieval oath of fealty had its origin in the personal relationship that became known as vassalage. The *sacramentum* referred to by Tacitus in describing the bond between *comes* and *princeps* may well have been a formal act of some kind (see *Germania*, ed. by Much, p. 163 and the following note); fealty can then be understood as a superimposed Christian ritual (Esmein, p. 190; Calmette, pp. 38 f.; Bloch, p. 225).

<sup>72</sup> Guilhiermoz, pp. 79, 393 f. It is worth noting that in the latter connection Mitteis (pp. 480-81) finds a strong Germanic tradition in the ceremony of homage, quite apart from the doubtful element of the handclasp (p. 31).

<sup>73</sup> Lack of evidence makes it futile to inquire what relationship, if any, existed between *leudes* and *gasindi*, or why these terms came to be superseded by *vassi*.

holding. Whether the military benefice was or was not an eighth century invention is a matter of secondary importance.<sup>74</sup> Our chief interest is rather the wide extension of feudal tenure that came in the ensuing period. To account for this extension we must, in my opinion, consider the following points. The basis of the new system, assuredly, was military need. The king gave fiefs to his vassals and encouraged subinfeudation on the part of the latter for the primary purpose of securing a better army; and, no matter what may be made of the Saracen danger,<sup>75</sup> there was an increasing demand for mounted troops. The rapid introduction of heavy-armed cavalry, as Guilhiermoz has admirably shown, was of profound social significance. As the *miles* became exclusively a *caballarius*, the gulf between his status and that of the peasant grew wider. The profession of arms came to be governed by an aristocratic code of chivalry—a set of rules that had meaning only for the highborn. Thus in the later Middle Ages knight and noble were virtually synonymous terms. Land held for agrarian rent or service, whatever the nature of the original contract, was no fief; the tenant, however free in law, was no vassal.<sup>76</sup>

The vassal's obligation, being military, was *ipso facto* political; so, according to Carolingian standards, it was proper for him to receive political privilege in return. The truth should never be overlooked that a fief brought to the holder not merely the rights of a landlord but also those of an immunist.<sup>77</sup> Leading authorities are today agreed that the

<sup>74</sup> The ideas of Waitz, Roth, and Brunner have been sketched in the preceding pages; for those of Dopsch see above, n. 67, and below, n. 77. Ganshof, defending the "classic theory" of Brunner, admits that benefices held by vassals are not unknown before the time of Charles Martel but contends that they were generally established only in the eighth century (*Études . . . Henri Pirenne*, pp. 175 f.; cf. Mitteis, pp. 107 f.). Lot, on the other hand, refuses to accept the Roth-Brunner thesis, which he calls that of "explosive vassalage" (pp. 664 f.). The sudden appearance of military benefices in the eighth century is due, he believes, merely to the fact that they were not commonly recorded in charters; if the Merovingian capitularies had been preserved, we should hear more about such grants in the earlier period. In this argument he has the support of Krawinkel (pp. 137, 163 f.)—and, I think, rightly; for I cannot believe that so useful an institution as the military benefice was primarily the result of legal difficulty arising from the confiscation of church property. The objections of Lot (p. 662) and Krawinkel (pp. 80 f.) to Brunner's peculiar interpretation of the Germanic land grant (above, n. 30) are, in my opinion, likewise sound. A good review of the whole controversy has recently been given by H. A. Cronne, "The Origins of Feudalism", *History*, XXIV (1939-40), 251 f.

<sup>75</sup> Lot, p. 665; Mitteis, pp. 124 f.; Dopsch, in *M.Ö.J.G.*, XLVI, 9 f.; and especially Krawinkel, pp. 11 f.

<sup>76</sup> Guilhiermoz, chap. III, particularly pp. 450 f.; Lot, pp. 656-57, 673; Bloch, pp. 267 f.

<sup>77</sup> Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, II, 344, 383 f.; Below, pp. 243 f. This idea has been well developed by Dopsch (in *M.Ö.J.G.*, XLVI, 19 f.), though he tends, I think, to



personal relationship of lord to vassal carried with it no power of jurisdiction.<sup>78</sup> What we know as feudal justice could not be separated from the territorial immunity which every fief was construed to imply. And insofar as the feudal lord had the right to hold courts, to levy tolls and other imposts, to requisition labor and materials, to raise fortifications, and to muster the population for local defense, he was obviously a public official.<sup>79</sup> It is, indeed, no mere form of words to assert that every fief was an office; for the rule of primogeniture evidently came to be incorporated in feudal law through recognition of this principle.<sup>80</sup> Another phase of the same development may be seen in the fact that by the end of the ninth century the more important agents of the state had been brought within the category of royal vassals. The transition was an informal one, of which the capitularies tell us little, but that the result was quite in accord with Carolingian policy seems clear. If every feudal tenant was to some degree a count within his own territory, when a count became a vassal, would not the county be his fief?<sup>81</sup>

The conclusion thus seems inevitable that to talk of "political feudalism", as distinguished from "economic feudalism", is misleading.<sup>82</sup> All feudalism was political; and if we wish to refer to the agrarian economy presupposed by feudal tenure, we have the accurate and familiar expression, "manorial system". The original feudalism, as I understand the

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exaggerate the administrative usefulness of the *vassi* in order to minimize the significance of any military or economic change during the Carolingian period. Krawinkel seems also to be carrying the argument too far when he concludes (pp. 134 f.) that, even in the Merovingian period, immunity was the essence of every benefice.

<sup>78</sup> See the excellent discussion in Mitteis, pp. 164 f., 296 f., and the literature there cited, especially the various articles of Ganshof. Cf. Lot, p. 670; Helen M. Cam, "Suitors and *Scabini*", *Speculum*, X (1935), 189 f.

<sup>79</sup> Esmein (pp. 171 f.), it seems to me, is entirely justified in his criticism of those historians who seek to derive the *seigneurie* of the Middle Ages from the ownership of either land or serfs. In this connection, however, a remark of Mitteis (p. 295, n. 109) is worth repeating: that, so far as France is concerned, the distinction between *régime seigneurial* and *régime féodal* is only a bit of modern theorizing; they are "two different aspects of the same thing, in practice hardly to be separated". Thus any single power held by a medieval baron may be called feudal in that it was part of his fief, seigniorial in that it was exercised over men who were not vassals. And no matter what phase of seigniorial government we examine, the responsibility of individual subjects will be found to vary according to their social rank, not according to some feudal or nonfeudal quality in the governmental function. Cf. Bloch, pp. 373 f.

<sup>80</sup> Mitteis, pp. 657 f.; Calmette, pp. 53 f.; Bloch, pp. 313 f.

<sup>81</sup> Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, II, 344; Below, pp. 243 f.; Mitteis, pp. 198 f.; Ganshof, in *Cam. Hist. Jour.*, VI, 167 f.

<sup>82</sup> These phrases have been popularized especially by Adams; see, for example, *The Origin of the English Constitution* (New Haven, 1912), pp. 44 f.

term, was a phase of government developed by the Frankish kings on the basis of a pre-existing barbarian custom of vassalage. It was not, therefore, an inevitable stage in economic evolution. Although it involved a system of rewarding soldiers with grants of land, it was by no means that alone. Nor was it the mere equivalent of provincial autonomy under a failing empire. To appraise its historical significance is, to say the least, not easy; for, as feudal custom was inherited and further developed by the states of later Europe, it became increasingly complex and variable. What follows is intended as a mere preliminary statement—mainly an attempt to dispose of a few troublesome misconceptions.<sup>83</sup>

As already remarked, many famous scholars have believed that feudalism was politically baneful—have considered it a sort of cancerous growth within the state. Yet as long ago as 1818 Henry Hallam expressed the opinion that the feudal system had much to be said in its favor.<sup>84</sup> Despite its shortcomings it must be valued, he says, as “a school of moral discipline”, which nourished a spirit of honorable obligation, a noble sentiment of personal loyalty. Although under that system private war and its attendant disorders flourished everywhere, the “inefficiency of the feudal militia” tended to save Europe from the “danger of universal monarchy”. “To the feudal law it is owing that the very names of right and privilege were not swept away, as in Asia, by the desolating hand of power.” These sentiments, most of us will agree, are a trifle exuberant. But Hallam makes a good point when he adds:

It is the previous state of society under the grandchildren of Charlemagne we must always keep in mind if we would appreciate the effects of the feudal system upon the welfare of mankind. The institutions of the eleventh century must be compared with those of the ninth, not with the advanced civilization of modern times. If the view that I have taken of those dark ages is correct, the state of anarchy which we term feudal was the natural result of a vast and barbarous empire feebly administered, and the cause rather than the result of the general establishment of feudal tenures.

Too few historians, it seems to me, have followed the lead offered by the eloquent Hallam. Too many have repeated vague generaliza-

<sup>83</sup> Although Mitteis deals admirably with various phases of the problem, he pays little attention to the one that seems to me most important—the working of feudal government in the principalities of the tenth and eleventh centuries.

<sup>84</sup> *View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages* (London, 1818), chap. II, pts. 1-2.

tions to the effect that feudalism was virtually synonymous with political disintegration.<sup>85</sup> The meaning of such remarks depends altogether on what state they refer to. Will they hold good, in the first place, for the Carolingian Empire? The capitularies of the eighth and ninth centuries reveal on the part of the kings a definite policy of using traditional vassalage to buttress the monarchical authority. Royal vassals, serving as heavy-armed cavalry and leading similar contingents of their own men, formed the principal strength of the army. They were increasingly employed in routine administration as well as for special missions. They came to be placed in many prominent offices of church and state. To enable them to meet their costly obligations, they were commonly endowed with rich benefices that included rights of immunity. But this glorification of vassalage for governmental purposes often tended to weaken and discredit the primitive bond. Vassals living on distant fiefs lost respect for a lord with whom they had little contact. Disloyal officials, in spite of enforced homage, continued to be disloyal. No amount of legal enactment could prevent usurpation or deter men from supporting the immediate lord who gave them sustenance and protection. And the establishment of hereditary tenure, though encouraged by the emperors, perpetuated more abuses than benefits.<sup>86</sup> In other words, the feudalizing policy of the Carolingians failed, not because it was in itself evil, but because it sought to accomplish the impossible.

The empire of Charlemagne was indeed too "vast and barbarous" and too "feebly administered" to be held together in the troubled period that ensued upon his death. The entire political experience of western Europe for the next three hundred years, down to the new age of economic recovery, demonstrated at least one fact: that a state, in order

<sup>85</sup> See in particular the definition of Adams, *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, p. 221: "Feudalism is a form of political organization which allows the state to separate into as minute fragments as it will, virtually independent of one another and of the state, without the total destruction of its own life with which such an experience would seem to threaten every general government." Even James Westfall Thompson, for all his sympathetic treatment of the subject, can assert that "feudalism destroyed the empire of Charlemagne". *The Middle Ages* (2d ed., New York, 1932), I, xv. And many French historians (e.g., Calmette, pp. 2, 22 f., 56 f.) have expressed similar opinions. Good criticism of the old view will be found in Below, pp. 43 f., 231 f., and Mitteis, pp. 3 f.

<sup>86</sup> Bloch (pp. 293 f.) cites with approval the judgment of Montesquieu that fiefs tended to endanger the state when they became hereditary. To be exact, however, feudal law recognized no absolute inheritance of fiefs; the heir had the right to investiture, as he kept the right to possession, only on certain conditions. It was when vassals got completely out of hand that political disruption ensued (Mitteis, pp. 205, 640 f.).

to survive, had to be relatively small.<sup>87</sup> Even the kingdom of Charles the Bald had ceased to have any reality long before it was acquired by Hugh Capet. Its territory had now been divided among a dozen or more principalities, one of which—a remnant of the old Neustrian march—was held by the king. If we examine these principalities, the true states of the eleventh century, what do we learn of feudalism and its political significance? A cursory glance shows that feudal custom was generally prevalent in those where the central authority was strong as well as in those where it was weak. The difference between typical members of the two groups is found to lie not in any theoretical powers of the ruler but in his ability to enforce them. As has often been pointed out, the feudal contract allowed each party to denounce the other for stated cause, primarily default of aid or protection; it was the absence of a common superior to render effective justice that resulted in the chronic warfare called private.<sup>88</sup> Within any well-organized state whose military and civil administration depended largely on feudal relationships, the regulation of the latter was imperative—was, in fact, an essential part of the system under which they were supposed to exist. And it is a mistake to consider feudal decentralization an unmitigated evil. The construction of every fief as a restricted sphere of seignorial government may well be compared with the modern establishment of partial autonomy in cities, townships, and other local units.<sup>89</sup> Feudal anarchy there was in many regions of medieval Europe, but feudalism was not of necessity anarchical.

The proof of this statement is very familiar. It lies in the fact that the feudalism of northern France, derived from the later custom of the Carolingian Empire, was taken over and developed with remarkable success by the Normans, first in their own duchy and then in England. The Norman dukes—like the marquises of Flanders, the counts of Anjou, and various other French princes, including Louis VI as ruler of the Capetian domain—made feudal tenure the basis of the most efficient government then possible in western Europe. So, to my mind, their little territories were feudal states par excellence; for it is an academic question whether the organization of an actual state could be

<sup>87</sup> Unappreciated by most writers on medieval institutions, this truth has been clearly stated by Below (pp. 345 f.). It is a great misfortune that he did not live to complete his second volume, which would have dealt with the German principalities.

<sup>88</sup> The discussion of this subject by A. Luchaire is justly famous. *Manuel des institutions françaises* (Paris, 1892), pp. 219 f. Cf. Mitteis, pp. 534 f.; Esmein, pp. 247 f.

<sup>89</sup> Rightly emphasized by Below, pp. 302 f.

reduced to feudal relationship alone. The French kingdom of the eleventh century was no more of a state than the Holy Roman Empire of the eighteenth; and the kingdom described in the Assizes of Jerusalem seems to have been equally theoretical.<sup>90</sup> Nor is much profit to be derived from argument about the ideal feudal state—a matter that resolves itself into arbitrary definition.<sup>91</sup> What needs rather to be studied is the practical working of feudal institutions in the Middle Ages. Politics were politics, and statesmanship was statesmanship, even then.

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<sup>90</sup> It will be readily understood that, in this respect, I agree with Mitteis, pp. 534 f., rather than with John L. LaMonte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 1932), pp. 87 f., 243 f. The principalities established by the crusaders were, in my opinion, the true Latin states of Syria; the kingdom of Jerusalem was at most an afterthought.

<sup>91</sup> Thus Adams, ignoring his original definition (above, n. 85), comes to describe the twelfth century feudalism of England as ideal (*Origin of the English Constitution*, pp. 186 f.). But he himself points out that such a discussion depends on what we mean by "feudalism" and what we mean by "ideal". No feudal state, of course, could seem ideal to everybody; what pleased the Angevin Henry II could never please all his vassals or his Capetian lord either.

## ALTGELD AND THE PROGRESSIVE TRADITION

As the severe depression of 1893 deepened, carrying with it fresh disillusionment for the American gospel of success, those social antagonisms which had lain dormant since the riotous days of 1877 and 1886 found new expression.<sup>1</sup> In the Pullman Strike of 1894 nationally organized railway employers faced similarly organized railway employees, the first group determined that there was "nothing to arbitrate", the second prepared to use the loaded weapon of the general strike. The philosophy of Manchester Liberalism, widely espoused by the metropolitan press of the nation, met with increasing criticism from the exponents of a new social democracy. In Washington a governmental leadership which had been reared on a federal concept arising from an agrarian background was clearly unprepared to deal effectively with the perplexing problems of an urban industrial society. If the national government appeared helpless, the state legislatures, hampered by a parochial outlook, were even more so, justifying in too many instances the cynical characterization of local administration as "the jungle of American politics". Contemporary observers like Lincoln Steffens, Henry Demarest Lloyd, and Brand Whitlock have furnished a dark portrayal of the unbridled corruption and machine politics that rendered local reform ineffectual. Professor Harold U. Faulkner has correctly appraised the state administrations of this period:

With the exception of John P. Altgeld, Governor of Illinois, there was hardly a state executive who stood out during the nineties as the representative of a better day, yet within a decade of Altgeld's retirement to private life amidst a storm of abuse, the people of the various states were placing in the gubernatorial chair men whose schemes of reform were more radical than Altgeld's.<sup>2</sup>

In Illinois, where the union of Chicago corruptionists with those of Springfield had long before been consummated, business was compelled to pay tribute to the local and state "rings", and labor remained in many respects without even that small measure of protection embodied in paper reform legislation. The election of Governor John Peter Altgeld,

<sup>1</sup> This article is an expansion of a paper read before the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at Indianapolis in April, 1938.

<sup>2</sup> Harold Underwood Faulkner, *The Quest for Social Justice, 1898-1914*, History of American Life series (New York, 1931), p. 91.

the reformer, in 1892 upon a tidal wave of Cleveland ballots seemed at first but another victory for the amiable and personally honest governors who had in the past stood by helplessly before the iron determination of the bipartisan political organizations.

Fortunately, however, for his election and administration Altgeld possessed powerful allies among a remarkable group of reform leaders and in the invaluable support of labor. As a judge with novel ideas of scientific penology and as a defender of trade unionism the new governor had attracted these elements. Besides, the regulars of the state Democratic machine, a minority party since 1856, could afford to overlook the quixotism of a "millionaire-radical" whose financial resources would tide over expensive campaigns. The Hull House group of Illinois social service leaders contributed materially to the creation of a reform era in the state and subsequently in national politics. In 1889 Jane Addams had aided the transplantation of the British settlement movement to America, and as a result Hull House arose on the poverty-stricken West Side of Chicago as an experimental center for intelligent social service administration and as an important lobby for reform. It was through this nucleus of settlement workers and their activities in such pressure groups as the Civic Federation of Chicago that many of Altgeld's proposals received the necessary publicity to insure passage over the unresponsive attitude of the Springfield machine. Hull House residents such as Florence Kelley, Julia C. Lathrop, Ellen Gates Starr, and others played an important part in administering state social agencies of the Altgeld regime; subsequently their activities were transferred to the national welfare services at Washington as pioneers of a greater Federal responsibility for dependent social groups—the embryo of contemporary legislation on social security.

The preoccupation of Altgeld's biographers with the governor's famous pardon of the surviving prisoners implicated in the Haymarket Riot and with his telegrams to Cleveland protesting against the use of Federal troops in the Pullman Strike has tended to obscure the more significant state reforms inaugurated during his administration.<sup>3</sup> Among the heterogeneous personnel of the governor's appointees were single taxers, socialists, philosophic anarchists, Populists, as well as the

<sup>3</sup> The writer has developed some of the political aspects of Altgeld's career in "John Peter Altgeld and the Election Background of 1896", *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Mar., 1938; "Altgeld and the Election of 1896", *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Oct., 1937; "Altgeld pardons the Anarchists", *ibid.*, Jan., 1938; and "The Pullman Strike: A Study in Industrial Warfare", *ibid.*, Sept., 1939.



less doctrinaire liberal Democrats. Altgeld himself advocated a type of Jeffersonian idealism divorced from the archaic agrarianism advocated by the sage of Monticello. The poverty which surrounded his youth on an Ohio farm, his later humble career as a common laborer on Middlewestern railroads, and the bitter economic struggles of his early manhood in Missouri and Illinois had left an indelible impress upon his character and sympathies which the relatively few years of wealth as a lawyer and real-estate promoter could not efface. However indulgently he might view the utopianism of his more radical associates, for himself Altgeld was content with a progressivism of a gradualist and experimental variety based on a firm belief in the ultimate competence of the humble American citizen to choose a beneficent political course. As governor of a leading industrial state he found ample opportunity for the practice of his social philosophy in the midst of a society disturbed by the rapid transformation of political and economic structure.<sup>4</sup> His political solutions, although reflecting at times the serene confidence of the self-educated, were usually the product of a keenly critical intellectual process.

Among the more obvious social abuses which aroused considerable discussion were those in the shops and factories of the state. Callous exploitation of child labor, long hours for women workers, and appalling unsanitary conditions existed in the nineties, while legislative remedies remained ineffective. Even in older industrial states like Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, and Pennsylvania agitation for child welfare legislation, which began in the early part of the century, did not achieve results until the closing years of the century. At the national capital a Senate committee, investigating industrial relations, reported:

Time after time in each of these industrial states the sentiment of the public was aroused, organization was effected, and well-drafted bills were introduced only to be killed in committee, emasculated, or killed on the floor of the legislature, or passed with exceptions which rendered them entirely ineffective. Even the attempt to reduce the hours of children below twelve per day was bitterly contested and met by every known trick of legislative chicanery.<sup>5</sup>

In Illinois there had been efforts to enact child labor legislation in 1877 and again in 1891, but failure to provide state inspectors rendered

<sup>4</sup> Altgeld's philosophy is best expressed in his volume of papers, letters, and addresses, *Live Questions* (Chicago, 1899).

<sup>5</sup> "Final Report of the Commission on Industrial Relations", *Senate Executive Documents*, 64 Cong., 2 sess., no. 465, pp. 38-55.

the acts ineffective.<sup>6</sup> The only child labor law with any provision for enforcement was secured by the powerful coal miners' unions and was confined to labor in the mines.<sup>7</sup> Essential statistical information on industrial conditions in Chicago was nonexistent.

Although Jane Addams in her autobiography has minimized her own efforts to obtain adequate factory legislation, it is evident from her correspondence that she—and Hull House—instigated the original investigative steps which culminated in the Factory Law of 1893.<sup>8</sup> Without Florence Kelley of Hull House it is doubtful whether any such legislation would have materialized. The daughter of William ("Pig-Iron") Kelley, famous tariff congressman, she has been characterized in the pithy phrases of James Weber Linn as "the toughest customer in the reform riot; the finest rough-and-tumble fighter for the good life for others that Hull House ever knew".<sup>9</sup> Prior to Altgeld's administration she had conducted a campaign through pamphlets, speeches, and studies to awaken civic consciousness to the need of child labor legislation. During the spring of 1892 she had completed a summary of such legislation in Massachusetts and New York for the benefit of Illinois legislators.<sup>10</sup>

When Altgeld came into office, Miss Kelley suggested to the new secretary of labor statistics, George Schilling, that an investigation into Illinois industrial conditions was necessary. Not only was the recommendation accepted, but she was appointed head of the investigative committee. The governor himself devoted considerable attention to the subject in his inaugural address, denouncing the sweatshop system in the larger cities and asserting that the prevalent exploitation of children in Illinois factories stunted the minds and bodies of the youthful workers.<sup>11</sup> The subject was among the earliest dealt with by his administration.

Plans were now laid to win over the legislators, the majority of whom appeared either indifferent or hostile. Most effective in the

<sup>6</sup> Russell Sage Foundation Survey, *Industrial Conditions in Illinois* (Springfield, 1916), p. 141. <sup>7</sup> Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull-House* (New York, 1910), p. 201.

<sup>8</sup> The letters of Jane Addams, Ellen Starr, and Florence Kelley appear in the Henry D. Lloyd Manuscripts in the Manuscript Division of the Wisconsin State Historical Library.

<sup>9</sup> James Weber Linn, *Jane Addams* (New York, 1935).

<sup>10</sup> Florence Kelley to Henry D. Lloyd, June 30 and Nov. 28, 1892, Lloyd MSS. Miss Kelley had collaborated on the subject with Dr. Carroll D. Wright, the liberal Commissioner of Labor in Cleveland's administration, whose subsequent investigation of the Pullman Strike was to shock the conservative press.

<sup>11</sup> "Inaugural Address, January 10, 1893", *Live Questions*, p. 316.

struggle for this legislation was Clarence Darrow of Chicago, protégé of Altgeld and a brilliant young lawyer whose lifelong advocacy of unpopular causes subsequently drew national attention. While the governor was privately expressing his discouragement over the situation, Darrow, assisted by Mrs. Alzina P. Stevens, Populist editor and resident of Hull House, completed his legislative canvass and reported that the bill would carry in both houses.<sup>12</sup>

Although the Factory Inspection Act of 1893 was regarded by Altgeld and the reformers as a measure less progressive than the statutes of Massachusetts and New York since it exempted from its provisions food manufacturing, mercantile establishments, laundries, and offices, it marked an extension of state control over industry that has been almost continuous since that time. The new law prohibited the manufacture of certain articles of clothing in private homes, except by families living therein; children under fourteen years of age were forbidden factory employment; and women could not be employed more than eight hours daily in any factory or more than forty-eight hours per week.<sup>13</sup> Penalties ranged from three to one hundred dollars for each offense, although the minimum figure proved more popular with the courts. Florence Kelley was Altgeld's choice as the first chief factory inspector to supervise the new law; Alzina P. Stevens became assistant inspector.<sup>14</sup> They were compelled to operate under the modest budget of \$28,000 allowed by the legislature, but despite this and other obstacles the new chief inspector acted quickly, receiving direct encouragement from the governor. She wrote enthusiastically in October, 1893, to Henry D. Lloyd: "Governor Altgeld is doing everything in his power to back the law, and has authorized me to engage counsel for continuous prosecutions. I have engaged counsel and am gathering testimony and hope to begin a series of justice court cases this week."<sup>15</sup>

Subsequently the investigation undertaken by the factory inspectors at the request of the governor revealed startling abuses in Illinois industrial conditions which were analogous to those uncovered in England by the famous Ashley parliamentary report of 1842. There is scant opportunity here to do more than suggest the nature of the Kelley

<sup>12</sup> A. P. Stevens to Lloyd, May 22, May 30, and June 7, 1893, Lloyd MSS.

<sup>13</sup> *Laws of the State of Illinois, 1893* (Springfield, 1893), p. 99.

<sup>14</sup> Altgeld to ——— Chalmers, Feb. 15, 1895, Governor's Letter Book, MS. (in the Archival Division, Illinois State Library, Springfield, Illinois). In this letter Altgeld praised Miss Kelley as "one of the ablest persons in America" to deal with factory conditions.

<sup>15</sup> Florence Kelley to Lloyd, Oct. 10, 1893, Lloyd MSS.

report: the accounts of children seven and eight years old laboring in the glass works of Alton; the abuse of charitable agencies as recruiting centers for workers at depressed wage scales; the employment of boys in the slaughtering pens of the Chicago stock yards amid dangerous and unsanitary conditions; and finally the extreme occupational hazards of the sweatshop system.<sup>16</sup> Chicago newspapers like the *Record*, the *Herald*, and the *Inter-Ocean* gave considerable space and editorial comment to these reports. Churchmen found a fresh inspiration for discussion of social evils in the Kelley report.

As the factory inspectors descended upon recalcitrant employers, several large manufacturers organized a powerful lobby, the Illinois Manufacturers Association, and engaged brilliant counsel to combat the new laws. The subsequent case of *Ritchie v. Illinois* (1895),<sup>17</sup> which came before the state supreme court, is a notable one in the history of labor legislation, exercising a retarding influence on national social reform for at least a decade, and in some respects its Spencerian philosophy still remains today as an active legal precedent. So momentous were the issues at stake that the judges deferred their decision for ten months. Some of the arguments for the association, Miss Kelley pointed out, had been discarded by the British parliament in the fifties. Supporters of the factory laws based their case on the unchallenged position of similar legislation in Massachusetts and New York and the broad scope of the police power.

The Illinois supreme court, then dominated by an ultraconservative judiciary, decided that the provision of the factory law limiting factory hours for women was an unconstitutional deprivation of the individual's freedom of contract guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. The court declared that it was not impressed by the arguments regarding the health of women under the prevailing system. Although the other provisions of the Factory Law technically remained untouched, the road was opened for the annulment of the remaining sections.

Reform sentiment crystallized in a bitter denunciation of the decision. The Chicago *Times-Herald*, then under the liberal aegis of the younger Carter H. Harrison, commented: "What a mockery it is to read that the supreme court has demolished this humane, this civilizing law, on the plea that it robs the poor of their right to sell their labor as they will."<sup>18</sup> William T. Stead, visiting English publisher and reformer, wrote caustically: "Legislative restrictions which even the most re-

<sup>16</sup> Florence Kelley, *The Third Annual Report of the Factory Inspectors of Illinois* (Springfield, 1896).

<sup>17</sup> 155 Ill., 98.

<sup>18</sup> Chicago *Times-Herald*, Mar. 16, 1895.

actionary, hard-hearted capitalist in England admits to be indispensable for the protection of labor are unconstitutional according to the state of Illinois."<sup>19</sup> Altgeld, stunned by the decision, called a special legislative session for remedial legislation upon this subject, among others of a pressing nature, but his recommendations were ignored.<sup>20</sup> By this time he had antagonized certain powerful utility interests seeking a monopolistic franchise, and the bipartisan combine in the legislature stiffened accordingly. The incoming governor, John R. Tanner, removed the zealous Florence Kelley and her assistant from office, and the Manufacturers Association thenceforth breathed more easily—at least until 1910, when the state supreme court reversed its position.<sup>21</sup>

Another labor reform which appeared of primary importance in Altgeld's program was industrial arbitration, an idea he had supported since, and even prior to, the Haymarket Riot and which received renewed affirmation as a result of his experiences during the Pullman Strike. Organized labor on the whole, then in a comparatively weak collective bargaining position, favored a compulsory arbitration system, but despite the initiative in this matter taken by the Knights of Labor since the early eighties, nothing had been accomplished. Altgeld's intimate friend, Henry Demarest Lloyd, author of a work on the subject, *A Country without Strikes*, undoubtedly was a major factor in influencing the governor. The friendship between the two had ripened in 1890 and followed the publication of Lloyd's pamphlet on social reform, *The New Conscience*. On that occasion Altgeld had written to the author: "I have read your pamphlet *The New Conscience* and cannot resist saying to you that I would rather be the author of one such article than to hold any office in the gift of the American people."<sup>22</sup>

When, however, Altgeld reviewed the subject as governor, he tended

<sup>19</sup> William T. Stead, *If Christ came to Chicago* (Chicago, 1894), p. 402.

<sup>20</sup> "Proclamation of the Governor of Illinois, June 17, 1895", *Live Questions*, pp. 947-50.

<sup>21</sup> Ritchie v. Wyman, 244 Ill., 509. During the latter part of Altgeld's administration several representatives of the Alton glass industry approached the governor to request that the Factory Law remain unenforced. One manufacturer threatened "that if the law was not held up they would be obliged to close their factories which would be quite a serious matter to their communities". Altgeld replied sardonically, "Very well, close your factory and nail a notice on the outside saying, 'This factory is closed because the Governor of Illinois will not allow us to employ babies.'" Memorandum of George A. Schilling, MS. (in possession of Harry Barnard of Chicago).

<sup>22</sup> Altgeld to Lloyd, June 3, 1890, Lloyd MSS. Shortly thereafter Altgeld attended Lloyd's lecture on "The New Independence" and wrote to the latter that he had "placed all lovers of justice under obligation to him". Same to same, Dec. 7, 30, 1890, *ibid.* A mutual friend wrote to Lloyd that the author had made "the most profound impression" upon Altgeld. Henry Latchford to Lloyd, Dec. 8, 1890, *ibid.*

to modify his earlier views and recommended to the legislature a system of compulsory investigation under a voluntary arbitral procedure. "Many advocate compulsory arbitration", he admitted, "but no practical method of enforcing a decree of award in every case of this character has yet been found."<sup>23</sup> It is probable that any arbitral proposal would have been defeated in the legislature if the powerful Civic Federation of Chicago had not intervened. Jane Addams, a member of the executive committee, was entrusted with the preliminary studies of this problem. Numerous progressive citizens sponsored the idea of arbitral procedure in labor disputes, among them Professors Albion W. Small, Edward W. Bemis, Graham Taylor, and the ever-active Clarence Darrow. A convention on industrial conciliation and arbitration was held in Chicago on November 13-14, 1894; experts were summoned to discuss the subject, and an arbitration bill was eventually introduced into the legislature.<sup>24</sup>

The proposal appeared at first to be defeated by the inertia of Springfield, for an early adjournment in the final legislative session of Altgeld's administration took place; but the ensuing special session, called by the governor despite the unusually hot weather, brought partial success. The new law, fashioned after the Massachusetts model, created a state board of arbitration composed of one representative each of employers, employees, and the public. While mediation could be attempted prior to the request of the parties concerned, arbitration procedure depended upon direct application to the board by these contestants. After seventeen months of trial the governor was able to report successful mediation efforts in thirty-eight of forty-one cases and two arbitral decisions accepted by both parties.<sup>25</sup> The arbitration technique, however, found its pathway strewn with dangerous pitfalls, particularly in cases of considerable importance.<sup>26</sup>

Collective bargaining, the reform shibboleth of a later generation, received significant support in 1893, when the legislature passed an act protecting employees from dismissal because of union membership. Employers or their agents who threatened to discharge any worker for union activities were declared guilty of misdemeanor and subject to a

<sup>23</sup> Both contrasting points of view are given in *Live Questions*, pp. 107-16 and 315-16.

<sup>24</sup> Civic Federation of Chicago, *Congress on Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration, November 13-14, 1894* (Chicago, 1894).

<sup>25</sup> *First Annual Report of the State Board of Arbitration, March 1, 1896* (Springfield, 1896).

<sup>26</sup> Addams, p. 214.

fine of one hundred dollars or six months' imprisonment.<sup>27</sup> Similar legislation on the national stage in 1933, it will be observed, still retained a pioneer flavor when embodied in the crucial "Section 7-A" of the National Recovery Act and as subsequently revived in the Wagner Act of 1935 as well as in the other legislative progeny of the short-lived N.R.A. Altgeld's predilections for labor were further evidenced by his insistence on the exclusive use of union members on state projects. His experience with extensive building operations as a real-estate promoter, it was said, had convinced him that "union labor is always the best labor".<sup>28</sup>

Civil service reform, despite advances achieved in a number of eastern states, had left no impression upon the statute book of Illinois. The new governor, subject to the unusual patronage demands of a party deprived of power for thirty-six years, did not overlook the virtues of "deserving Democrats"; nevertheless, he chose the earliest opportunity to denounce the perpetuation of the spoils system. In his inaugural address he asserted that the time had come for a classified civil service to apply the merit system to all state and municipal employees who were not directly related to the policy-making process.<sup>29</sup> His sincerity was quickly attested by his legislative recommendation to abolish useless offices and by his frequent appointment to important administrative positions of Republicans and even women—a move with little patronage value in the days before the Nineteenth Amendment. In his biennial message of 1895 he reminded the legislature of his previous requests for civil service legislation, declaring that the importunity for office had become so great as to test the powers of physical endurance. The current economic depression, with its multitudes of unemployed, accentuated the difficulties.

Again the Civic Federation came to Altgeld's assistance and prepared a civil service bill designed particularly for the city of Chicago.<sup>30</sup> Angry politicians approached the governor to demand as a price for this legislation that the law be inoperative for a sufficient period to permit the new local machine to apportion the loaves and fishes of office among their following. When the governor refused to make this concession, he found that the legislative mill refused to grind for the

<sup>27</sup> "An Act to protect Employees and guarantee their Right to belong to Labor Organizations", *Laws of the State of Illinois, 1893*, p. 98.

<sup>28</sup> Colonel W. Dose to ——— Yeager, Apr. 20, 1896, Governor's Letter Book.

<sup>29</sup> "Inaugural Address, January 10, 1893", in *Live Questions*, pp. 313-14.

<sup>30</sup> *Chicago Times-Herald*, Mar. 21 and Apr. 6, 1895.



civil service bill, and he was compelled to accept the clause granting to the politicians the preliminary inoperative period desired.<sup>31</sup>

The Illinois act of March 20, 1895, created in each city a civil service board of three commissioners who were to be appointed by the mayor. The board was empowered to make investigations, prepare periodic reports, and apply the merit system to all positions except elective offices, clerks and judges of election, members of boards of education, school teachers and superintendents, and the heads of the principal departments of the city. Other provisions—pious hopes in view of subsequent events in Chicago alone—forbade anyone to solicit political contributions from city employees, the abuse of official influence, and certain other fraudulent practices.<sup>32</sup> Despite the shortcomings of the act the governor hoped that this would prepare the way for more far-reaching legislation, particularly with regard to county positions in the state.<sup>33</sup>

The bitter war against industrial monopolies, characteristic of the eighties and nineties, found a major battle front in Illinois. A Federal Senate committee reported that the ownership of the Union Stock Yards, representing in itself a giant combine, was identical with the principal stockholders of the great national railroads. The Pullman monopoly of sleeping-car manufacture had received unfavorable publicity during the Chicago strike of 1894. During the same year Henry D. Lloyd, Illinois reformer, published his challenging *Wealth against Commonwealth* to describe the contemporary process of business feudalization.<sup>34</sup> He attributed the growth of many large corporations to the fostering care of such privileges as railroad rebates and to legislative legerdemain. Illinois coal fields, ever smoking with incipient warfare, rested on the irresponsible basis of an absentee if centralized ownership which made repeated demands upon the state for industrial police. Company towns—and even company cities—dominated by a single economic interest reflected the penetration of monopolistic forms into various parts of the state. In Chicago the rise of the Gas Trust and the Yerkes traction combine took a heavy toll from consumers and paralyzed the structure of municipal self-government.

When, in the spring of 1893, the legislature and governor of Minnesota called for a national anti-trust convention to be held in Chicago,

<sup>31</sup> "The Civil Service Law", *Live Questions*, pp. 725-26.

<sup>32</sup> "An Act to regulate the Civil Service of Cities", *Laws of the State of Illinois, 1895* (Springfield, 1895), pp. 585-94.

<sup>33</sup> *Chicago Times-Herald*, Apr. 6, 1895.

<sup>34</sup> Lloyd, *Wealth against Commonwealth* (New York, 1894), *passim*.

Altgeld and Lloyd co-operated in an attempt to attract popular attention to monopolistic abuses. The Illinois governor permitted Lloyd to choose the state delegation to the convention, which included Clarence Darrow, Thomas J. Morgan, labor leader, Alzina P. Stevens of Hull House, Judge Edward O. Brown, and Jesse Cox.<sup>35</sup> At the convention, however, despite the carefully laid plans of Lloyd and his friends, a clever strategem of railroad attorneys and coal trust representatives who formed a rival "Anti-Trust Association" made the sessions innocuous. Finally, the convention split on a proposal to nationalize the coal mines, and the possibility of concerted action disappeared as separate reports were prepared by rival wings of delegates.<sup>36</sup>

At Springfield a campaign against the trusts had already begun on February 24, 1893, when a legislative investigation of the Whiskey Trust was ordered. This organization, known as the Cattle Feeders and Distilling Company and capitalized at forty-five million dollars, had its headquarters at Peoria. The investigators found evidences of practices tending to intimidate buyers and of the utilization of an elaborate system of transportation rebates to destroy competition.<sup>37</sup> As a result a law was passed outlawing price fixing, limitation of output, and all pooling agreements. To facilitate prosecutions, it was declared sufficient to prove that a trust or a combination existed as defined in the statute and that the defendant belonged to it or acted in connection with it. It was unnecessary to prove that all of the alleged members belonged to the trust or to produce any written instrument upon which it was based.<sup>38</sup>

The most sensational battle against monopoly of Altgeld's career occurred in the late spring of 1895. In a determined effort to break through the legal shackles which hampered consolidation and special privilege, the Chicago gas and traction interests attempted to secure an undisputed monopoly through extensive franchise and related legislation which could come only from the state legislature. Since the city council was unable to grant long-term franchises, the expiration of these agreements exposed the recipient to occasional aldermanic blackmail or "strikes" for renewal privileges, thus creating an uncertainty distasteful to businessmen. Men reputedly honest in their daily dealings

<sup>35</sup> Schilling to Lloyd, May 25, 1893; Altgeld to Lloyd, June 3, 1893; Colonel Dose to Lloyd, June 3, 1893. Lloyd MSS.

<sup>36</sup> Lloyd to Frank Parsons, Mar. 21, 1895 (copy), Lloyd MSS. Among the leading reformers in the convention were General James B. Weaver, who presided, and Ignatius Donnelly. *Chicago Tribune*, June 7, 1893.

<sup>37</sup> *Laws of the State of Illinois*, 1893, p. 192.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 182.

admitted that the "system" of local extortion obliged them to resort either to wholesale bribery or to face extermination.<sup>39</sup>

Other motives, even less defensible, also encouraged the trek of the utility interests to Springfield. Representative of this tendency was Charles Tyson Yerkes, traction magnate, whose financial freebooting has attracted the pen of men like Theodore Dreiser, Brand Whitlock, and Carter H. Harrison, among many others. Yerkes, whose misappropriations of municipal bond funds in Philadelphia had already brought him to a Pennsylvania penitentiary, was now a dominant figure among Chicago streetcar and elevated interests, a position due in no small measure to his successful operations in floating heavily watered traction stock to the innocent investor.<sup>40</sup> He now sought a ninety-nine-year franchise for his companies as a step likely to enhance the attractiveness of new street-railway bond issues.

At the same time the formidable Gas Trust of Chicago, a clever combination of holding company and other monopolistic devices, sought similar privileges at Springfield aimed at excluding potential competitors. The advent of the trust in the late eighties had brought with it a sharp upward rise in gas prices. Early judicial efforts at dissolution in 1889-91 had merely brought about a change in externals rather than the elimination of monopoly; even the attorney general of Illinois, George Hunt, who had conducted the proceedings against the trust, became, upon his termination of office, counsel for the gas companies. Reform outcries from an indignant citizenry were circumvented by an indulgent city counsel.<sup>41</sup> At this time Altgeld's attorney general, Maurice T. Maloney, was conducting fruitless legal proceedings to compel the companies to abide by an early decision of the state supreme court

<sup>39</sup> Interview with Schilling, Dec. 8, 1935. Lincoln Steffens, *The Struggle for Self-Government* (New York, 1906), pp. 50-55; Stead, pp. 180-89.

<sup>40</sup> There is a rich mine of material upon Illinois franchise abuses in Schilling's *Ninth Biennial Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1896* (Springfield, 1897), p. 61 and *passim*; George Marshall, "Charles Tyson Yerkes", *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* (New York, 1930-35), XV, 513-14; Edward F. Dunne, "The Story of the Street Car Companies of Chicago", *Papers of Edward F. Dunne*, ed. by William L. Sullivan (Chicago, 1916). Theodore Dreiser has drawn an unforgettable portrait of Yerkes as Frank Cowperwood and Altgeld as the honest Illinois governor in *The Financier* and *The Titan*, both novels which are based on innumerable interviews with authoritative contemporaries and upon a study of Chicago and Philadelphia newspapers. Theodore Dreiser to Harvey Wish, July 23, 1935 (letter in the writer's possession).

<sup>41</sup> A mass meeting of prominent Illinoisans to protest against these practices was held in Chicago during March, 1895, and included speakers such as Henry D. Lloyd, Lyman J. Gage, Clarence Darrow, William R. Harper, Theodore Brentano, C. C. Kohlsaat, and Marshall Field.

restraining them from buying or selling the stock of their supposed competitors.<sup>42</sup>

As the monopoly bills were introduced into the legislature, the huge element of official bribery soon attracted popular attention and aroused a hostile press; nevertheless, under careful legislative sponsorship, the gas and traction bills passed both houses.<sup>43</sup> Altgeld's silence on the subject and the well-known fact that his cousin and business partner, John W. Lanchart, was affiliated with the Ogden Gas Company, an interested concern in the Springfield proceedings, appeared ominous to certain reformers. Then occurred a startling development. Both traction and gas representatives approached the governor with offers of huge bribes should the desired special legislation become law; the traction interests offered Altgeld \$500,000, while similar financial inducements came from the gas companies.<sup>44</sup>

The governor's hostile reply, despite the sudden collapse of his wealth due to the depression and because of his preoccupation with official duties, came emphatically in a stinging triple-barreled veto message which consigned the Yerkes and Gas Trust bills to oblivion as far as his administration was concerned. All three bills, gas, streetcar, and elevated, involved the same principle, he charged, the legalization of monopoly, "a flagrant attempt to increase the riches of some men at the expense of others by means of legislation".<sup>45</sup> Government must protect all interests alike; if any group deserved protection, it was the weak rather than the strong. Denouncing the existing monopolies, he proposed municipal ownership of public utilities as a desirable alternative—a cause which he espoused unsuccessfully to his final years.

Public approval of these vetoes even included an endorsement by Altgeld's chief journalistic foe, the *Chicago Tribune*. Nicholas Vachel Lindsay, Illinois poet of democracy and subsequently author of the famous Altgeld eulogy, "Eagle Forgotten", wrote in later years of his neighbor: "Had Altgeld signed these bills, he might have retrieved his broken fortunes . . . might have gone to associate and conspire with other such characters in the Federal Senate and instead of being

<sup>42</sup> Schilling, *Ninth Biennial Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics*, 1896, *passim*.

<sup>43</sup> Well-authenticated instances of legislative bribery involving hundreds of thousands of dollars appear in the *Chicago Tribune*, May 2, 3, 4, 16, 1895, and the *Chicago Times-Herald*, Mar. 4, 1895.

<sup>44</sup> Dunne, "Address at the John P. Altgeld Memorial at the Garrick Theatre", *Chicago Historical Society Pamphlets*, Mar. 10, 1907; see Harry Barnard, "Eagle Forgotten": *The Life of John Peter Altgeld* (Indianapolis, 1938), pp. 403-11.

<sup>45</sup> Altgeld, "Veto of the Monopoly Bills", *Live Questions*, pp. 940-43.

denounced as a reactionary demagogue, been lauded as a progressive statesman."<sup>46</sup> The governor attempted to supplement his implied condemnation of legislative corruption by an effort to purge his own party of these elements. "Harmony in the party is certainly desirable", he remarked to the press, "but the Democratic Party does not want the harmony of death."<sup>47</sup> His demand for a legislative investigation found "the boodle gang" too well entrenched, and a motion for this purpose failed. In the election of 1896 some of the suspect elements bolted the party to join the "Honest Money" or Gold Democrats, creating a political wing detrimental to that organization.

The struggle against monopoly was coupled with a campaign against the perennial injustice of arbitrary property assessment. Most intimate of Altgeld's advisers on these matters was the labor reformer, George Schilling, secretary of labor statistics, whose reports on franchises and taxation reflected the influence of Henry George and soon attracted national attention.<sup>48</sup> Schilling injected a crusading spirit into his biennial statement that transformed the drabness of official stewardship into the challenging instrument of a militant public servant. The close personal bond between the two men suggests that Schilling's constant progressivism—in an unusually active career which ended only in 1938—would have been the governor's course had Altgeld not died a generation earlier. The secretary of labor statistics chose to dramatize the inequalities of taxation assessment as evident in such careers as those of Yerkes and George M. Pullman. He prepared a caustic comparison of revenue derived from dog licenses and the street car companies: "In 1886 when Yerkes entered the railway business, the dogs paid \$27,948 for the few privileges they enjoy, while the street car companies paid \$30,530.85, but soon afterwards, the dogs, having less influence in legislative halls than certain financiers, had to bear the larger burden."<sup>49</sup>

Despite the combined efforts of Altgeld, Schilling, and the campaign of the *Chicago Times*, the legislature refused to act. Only in 1901 were such existing inequitable valuations as that of Pullman increased; then

<sup>46</sup> N. V. Lindsay, "The Altgeld Temperament", *The Public*, May 24, 1912; *Chicago Tribune*, May 15, 1895.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, July 10-11, 1895.

<sup>48</sup> These reports appear as the Eighth and Ninth Biennial Reports of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Schilling had been active in trade-union circles since his seventeenth year; his role in securing the pardon of the surviving Haymarket prisoners had been a major one. His early career, particularly his birth in Germany, his boyhood in Ohio, and his activity in later years, is amazingly similar to Altgeld's. "Schilling's Recollections", Schilling Manuscripts (Barnard Collection, Chicago).

<sup>49</sup> *Ninth Biennial Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics*, 1896, p. 69.

it was raised by court mandamus to a figure some 1100 per cent over its 1894 valuation; while the Peoples Gas, Light, and Coke Company experienced a 3900 per cent increase over the same period.<sup>50</sup> Altgeld was successful, however, in obtaining an inheritance tax law governing gifts, legacies, and inheritances over five hundred dollars in value; another tax revision law was secured in 1895 establishing a system of corporation taxes on a graduated scale.<sup>51</sup> These laws suggested the new highway of democratic tax reform traversed in the succeeding generation.

In the field of penology the governor showed exceptional aptitudes and achievements. Prior to his election he had written a striking discussion of penological theories in a pamphlet, *Our Penal Machinery and its Victims*, which emphasized the failure of contemporary practices to provide the social rehabilitation of the prisoner. Attacking prison brutalities as futile as well as inhumane, he asserted that the criminal was simply a maladjusted individual who required the assistance of the state in finding his place in society.<sup>52</sup>

He had campaigned in large part upon the prison issue, charging his Republican opponents with exploitation of convict labor, gross jobbery in prison contracts, and extreme negligence of an administrative and investigative character. Once in office he made it clear that while he believed that work was essential for a prisoner's rehabilitation, it was unnecessary that the system be a self-sustaining one; besides, he declared, there must be a minimum of competition with free labor.<sup>53</sup> When, however, the cigar-makers' union secured legislative consent to the abolition of cigar manufacturing in prison, Altgeld vetoed the bill as seeking to relieve one industry of competition and correspondingly placing a burden upon other industries.

His favorite penal project was the indeterminate sentence system of parole. He hoped to provide by this means an incentive for reform, offering the prisoner the prospect of a reduced term of imprisonment as a consequence of good behavior. The legislature accepted this measure, and the parole system began its controversial career in Illinois politics.<sup>54</sup> After consulting reform school administrators, the governor extended

<sup>50</sup> Joel Roscoe Moore, *The Taxation of Corporations in Illinois*, University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences (Urbana, 1913), pp. 100-101.

<sup>51</sup> *Laws of the State of Illinois*, 1895, p. 213.

<sup>52</sup> Altgeld, *Our Penal Machinery and its Victims* (Chicago, 1884), reprinted in *Live Questions*, pp. 7-89.

<sup>53</sup> *Live Questions*, pp. 952-53; *Chicago Tribune*, June 24, 1896.

<sup>54</sup> *Laws of the State of Illinois*, 1895, p. 158.

the benefits of this act to juvenile offenders as well. Despite occasional violations of parole the system was adjudged a success. In order to remove an unnecessary source of humiliation for the prisoners, he substituted for the traditional striped uniforms, with their ignominious associations, the plain gray suits. Youthful prisoners were subject to a special procedure which sought to remove the stigma of the penitentiary and at the same time provide adequate vocational training in modern reformatory institutions.<sup>55</sup>

To the administration of state welfare institutions Altgeld brought a similarly challenging attitude. Competent subordinates in a regime of rigid central supervision of finances introduced a larger element of responsibility, while personal initiative was fostered by the direct encouragement of the governor, who attended local conferences religiously. Among his most brilliant appointees was Julia C. Lathrop of Hull House as head of the Bureau of Public Charities. Her reports of the startling contemporary plight of the unfortunate and her able administration in the state were subsequently crowned by a brilliant career as a Federal child welfare official. Recommendations were made for a reorganized medical staff on a merit basis, additional attendants, and new hospital facilities.<sup>56</sup> The governor's request of his superintendents for a study of various systems of treatment used in European institutions revealed his preoccupation with the welfare of the mentally and physically ill. Before the end of his administration he succeeded in erecting two new state hospitals, building several new wings to existing institutions, and organizing an extensive staff of trained nurses and male orderlies on a merit basis.<sup>57</sup> Dr. Adolph Meyer, outstanding authority on the pathology of the brain, was invited to offer lectures to the medical staff along pioneer lines.<sup>58</sup>

Significant in the history of American higher education is the influence of the Altgeld administration upon the rise of the University of Illinois. President Edmund J. James of that university declared in

<sup>55</sup> Altgeld to Major McClaughry, Oct. 20, 1893, Governor's Letter Book; *Report of the Southern Illinois Penitentiary, September 30, 1894* (Springfield, 1894), p. 5 and *passim*; *Report of the General Superintendent at Pontiac, October 1, 1894* (Springfield, 1894).

<sup>56</sup> *Report of the Board of State Commissioners of the Bureau of Public Charities, October 1, 1894*, Illinois Reports, IX (Springfield, 1894), 32-42.

<sup>57</sup> Report of Julia C. Lathrop, *Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections* (Boston, 1895), pp. 34, 342-43.

<sup>58</sup> The *Chicago Herald*, an opponent of Altgeld, paid this tribute: "The outcome is that the charitable institutions never before were in as good condition as now and they never before were managed at so small an expense in proportion to the number of inmates." Jan. 11, 1895.



later years: "Governor Altgeld raised this institution from a comparatively insignificant country college to the rank of a great school of learning, the foundations of which are broad and deep."<sup>59</sup> The governor was motivated in part by fears, then commonly held, that the great endowed universities were becoming the creatures of monopolistic wealth, a conclusion fostered by the sudden emergence of the University of Chicago through the contributions of John D. Rockefeller and possibly by the suspicions engendered by the sudden dismissal of Professor Edward W. Bemis, outspoken advocate of municipal ownership, by President William R. Harper.<sup>60</sup>

In the era before 1895, when Dr. Andrew S. Draper became head of the institution, the University of Illinois (or the Illinois Industrial University, as it was called before 1885) remained primarily a technical school whose graduates entered "practical" vocations. While states like Ohio, Michigan, and Wisconsin were making rapid progress in higher education, Illinois, a wealthier and more populous state, was sending a disproportionately large number of students elsewhere for training.<sup>61</sup> The new governor soon made a pet project of the university, obtaining from the legislature not the customary legislative appropriations of \$40,000 but double that sum in 1893 and the unprecedented amount of \$424,000 in 1895.<sup>62</sup> He attended the meetings of university trustees regularly, advised as to the type of buildings and architecture to be adopted, volunteered to assist in obtaining competent lecturers, and negotiated successfully for the acquisition of the pharmacy school of the prominent College of Physicians and Surgeons in Chicago. His expressed object was to make the university pre-eminent in every branch.<sup>63</sup> On the occasion of Dr. Draper's installation in 1895 Altgeld, although he had never attended college classes, expressed his ideal of a great university. "A college or university is not a simple machine", he declared. "Its character is a force that creeps silently over the land, and by day and by night molds the sentiment of men. It is this character by which an institution is judged." Above all, he believed it should represent and befriend the common people.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Edward O. Browne, "John P. Altgeld", *Chicago Hist. Soc. Pamphlets*, Dec. 5, 1905.

<sup>60</sup> Richard T. Ely to Lloyd, Nov. 9, 1895, Lloyd MSS.

<sup>61</sup> Allan Nevins, *Illinois* (New York, 1917), p. 159.

<sup>62</sup> J. E. Armstrong to W. R. Browne, ———, 1923, Browne Manuscripts (in the Illinois State Historical Library); *Seventeenth Report of the Proceedings of the Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois, 1894* (Springfield, 1895), p. 265.

<sup>63</sup> Altgeld to A. S. Draper, Mar. 6, 1896 (copy in the Illinois State Historical Library).

<sup>64</sup> "Installation of Dr. Draper as President of the University of Illinois, May, 1895", *Live Questions*, pp. 484-86.

Despite the chronic invalidism of the governor, amazing energies were forthcoming which penetrated into every sphere of state activity and defy adequate abbreviation. His interest in education enriched not only the state university but the entire state system, bringing with it new teachers' colleges, libraries, and museums and standardizing entrance requirements for all higher educational institutions. State inspection laws, which had been resisted at the great Union Stock Yards of Chicago and had long since become dead letters, were soon stringently enforced by Altgeld's threat to withdraw inspectors entirely from that section and to acquaint the public with the dangers to health involved in consuming the products of the yards.<sup>65</sup> His special concern in the plight of the common man inspired a far-reaching system of free recreational facilities, particularly in the creation of the unique modern park structure of Chicago.<sup>66</sup> Among other salutary changes were the institution of the economical Torrens System of registering land titles, the revision of freight rates in the interest of more equitable railroad charges among rival shippers, and a reorganization of the judiciary to expedite the movement of cases from the badly congested court dockets.

As a strong executive Altgeld made far more use of the veto power than did any of his predecessors.<sup>67</sup> These were not acts of captious criticism or the overriding of unimportant issues but arose from broad considerations of policy and the conservation of all public interests. His frequent use of the pardoning power, based on a humane conception of penology and a tendency to err on the side of mercy, exposed him to considerable criticism and earned for him the sobriquet of John "Pardon" Altgeld in the pages of the hostile Chicago *Tribune*.

The political program of Altgeld is most significantly expressed in the famous Democratic platform of 1896, of which he was the author, and the significant political realignments of that year, which he did much to promote.<sup>68</sup> His attacks on "government by injunction", the income tax decision of 1895, the unrestricted use of Federal troops in labor disputes—these helped to create that progressivism of the nineties erroneously fathered upon William Jennings Bryan and reappearing

<sup>65</sup> *Report of the Board of Live Stock Commissioners, October 31, 1895* (Springfield, 1895), p. 28; *Chicago Times*, Jan. 4, 1894; Altgeld to ——— Sherman, Dec. 20, 1893, Governor's Letter Book.

<sup>66</sup> *Live Questions*, p. 960; *Laws of Illinois, 1895*, pp. 187-201.

<sup>67</sup> Niels H. Debel, *The Veto Power of the Governor of Illinois*, University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences (Urbana, 1917).

<sup>68</sup> See the writer's "John Peter Altgeld and the Background of the Election of 1896", *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, Mar., 1938.

subsequently as Wilson's New Freedom—to trace it no further. Most revealing of all is the work of that generation of idealists who came under Altgeld's influence: Clarence S. Darrow, the knight-errant attorney; Jane Addams and the pioneer social leaders of Hull House; Henry D. Lloyd, antimonopoly writer; Brand Whitlock, subsequently reform mayor of Toledo; Edgar Lee Masters and Nicholas Vachel Lindsay, whose poetry sought its theme in Altgeld's outlook; Edward F. Dunne, reform governor of Illinois; and a host of labor leaders such as George Schilling. Theodore Dreiser found in Altgeld's career the inspiration of his most significant social novels, and the "literature of social protest", which characterized the nineties, bears the impact of his personality. State reform at the turn of the century, which provided the earliest expression of the progressive movement, pursued a course strikingly similar to that of Springfield during 1893-97. In Illinois the Altgeld tradition is still a vital creative factor, and upon the national scene there is more than a suggestion that its force is not yet spent.

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## NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

### RECRUITING IN OLD ORLEANS FOR NEW ORLEANS

IN the first months of the year 1720 the Company of the Indies was having difficulties. Despite the fantastic stories of the mountains of Louisiana filled with gold, silver, copper, and precious stones and of the welcome of friendly aborigines,<sup>1</sup> John Law had been unable to induce enough suitable colonists to migrate to the banks of the Mississippi, to the newly established town of New Orleans and neighboring villages. Unemployed servants had been transported to the colony as early as September, 1717.<sup>2</sup> Although it had been represented that certain women previously sent had been responsible for serious disturbances and for the spread of venereal disease, the king, in May, 1719, had authorized the company to seize young people of both sexes from the hospitals of Paris, expecting thus to provide four thousand colonists,<sup>3</sup> more successful ones, it was hoped. In August, 1719, five hundred had been taken from the Bicêtre and the Salpêtrière,<sup>4</sup> and in September Law had gone in person to the Salpêtrière and had bribed the management to hand over boys and girls but no prostitutes.<sup>5</sup> On the eighteenth of September 180 girls and the same number of men had been taken from the prisons of Paris, forcibly married at Saint-Martin-des-Champs, and sent to La Rochelle for embarkation.<sup>6</sup> A riot had occurred during September at La Rochelle, when 150 girls en route from Paris to the "Mississippi" struck and bit their guards and pulled their hair, until the jailors opened fire, killed and wounded some, and got the rest under control.<sup>7</sup> On the eighth of October Paris had been scandalized at the sight of thirty carts filled with women, "de la moyenne vertu", shouting to their acquaintances in the streets as they started on their journey to "Mississippi".<sup>8</sup> Criminals had also been sent, especially if they were at all promising as laborers.<sup>9</sup> On January 2, 1720, thirty-eight prisoners broke out of Saint-Martin-des-Champs and successfully avoided deportation.<sup>10</sup> The results of the deportations had been so disastrous that the company had repeatedly pro-

<sup>1</sup> É. Levasseur, *Recherches historiques sur le système de Law* (Paris, 1854), pp. 153-54.

<sup>2</sup> Jean Buvat, *Journal de la régence* (Paris, 1865), I, 303. On the whole question of the founding of New Orleans see Marc Villiers du Terrage, *Histoire de la fondation de la Nouvelle-Orléans, 1717-1722* (Paris, 1917).

<sup>3</sup> Buvat, I, 386-87. <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 422.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 434.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 438-39.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 427.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 441.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 453.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 1.

tested and had finally refused, in theory at least, to accept vagabonds, criminals, vagrants, and immoral persons, who, if exiled at all, had to be sent to other colonies.<sup>11</sup>

All this did not facilitate the recruiting of respectable colonists. The police were therefore reorganized early in 1720 and were given orders to report the presence of unemployed persons and professional beggars who could be deported.<sup>12</sup> In May the notorious *bandoliers* began to appear in Paris and elsewhere. One hundred fifty *archers*, divided into companies and probably augmented by press gangs, were said to have seized, during one week, over five thousand supposed idlers. They even raided the hospice of Sainte-Catherine in Paris, where respectable servant girls were sheltered while looking for employment.<sup>13</sup> The tragic fate of those seized was thus described by Saint-Simon:

. . . in order to populate the Mississippi colony they kidnaped in Paris and all over the kingdom men and women without employment, beggars in good health, and prostitutes. . . . It was done in Paris and everywhere else with such violence and foul play, in order to get the ones they wanted, that vigorous protests resulted. Not the slightest care was taken to provide for these miserable creatures on the roads or even in the ports of embarkation; they were confined at night in barns and ditches, without food. . . . Their outcries aroused pity and indignation . . . and they died in large numbers. People were seized who were not at all of the class prescribed but of whom someone wished to be rid, by informing on them and bribing the *bandoliers*.<sup>14</sup>

The press gangs were said to have received one pistole, ten livres or francs, for each capture, in addition to their regular pay.<sup>15</sup>

Riots are known to have resulted in Paris, for court records of April 29 and 30, 1720, describe outbreaks in the Quartier Saint-Antoine and on the Pont Notre-Dame, in which eight or ten *archers* were killed. When one who was wounded was carried into the Hôtel-Dieu for treatment, the patients rose from their beds and killed him.<sup>16</sup> It was because of such occurrences that a royal order of May 3, 1720, forbade interference with the *archers*, at the same time admonishing the latter to avoid arresting the wrong people and to wear at all times their distinctive uniforms with the *bandoliers*, from which they got their name.<sup>17</sup>

A dossier among the police records at Orléans tells the story of the activities of the *bandoliers* in that city in the first weeks of May, 1720.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 83.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 87-88.

<sup>14</sup> A. de Boislisle, ed., *Mémoires de Saint-Simon*, XXXVII (Paris, 1925), 257-58.

<sup>15</sup> Buvat, II, 78; Archives nationales (Paris), MS. Reg. U 363.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* <sup>17</sup> Buvat, II, 78.

<sup>18</sup> Archives du Loiret (Orléans), MS. 1979. All evidence given below regarding events in Orléans is from this record.

It is particularly interesting because the events occurred on the private domain of the regent, the duke of Orléans, the patron of Law and of the Mississippi colony, in which a city had recently been named for him. In addition to the graphic description of the methods employed by the press gangs, the document provides evidence of the sympathies of the local magistrates and of their unwillingness to co-operate with Law, official agent of the duke of Orléans in the matter.

Two supposed *bandoliers*, with several accomplices, were arrested at Orléans in May, 1720, when one of them tried to seize a young man on the streets of the city. Their alibis were not admitted, and they were condemned to the pillory, but an appeal to Paris enabled their protectors in high places to have the sentence changed to nine years' banishment from Orléans, where they doubtless would not have dared to appear anyway. As soon as the case came up, people appeared to testify about the real and imaginary deeds of the leaders of the gang, Lecompte and Leclerc, who were known as La Bouillie and Le Turc, and of an accomplice, Bertault, who seems to have been a local person of unsavory reputation.

An upholsterer named Henry Vavas seur swore that he had been insulted by Bertault, who said that he had orders to collect people for Mississippi and threatened to take the entire Vavas seur family. Vavas seur had replied by accusing Bertault of accepting a bribe from an enemy who wanted to get Vavas seur out of the way, only to be told by Bertault that he would "sell his own father for money". Bertault had been seen by another witness as he tried to coax a young boy "to go to Mississippi" by offering him a trinket.

Several witnesses were women. Marguerite Jobart, aged sixteen, said that as she was walking in the close of the Church of Saint-Aignan, a man had called out to her, "Little girl, would you like to come to Mississippi? We'll give you a treasury official for a husband, a man richer than your weight in gold." When she refused, he had seized her and attempted to smother her shrieks. A woman had tried to rescue her, and the man had thereupon dropped her and pursued the woman. Three women testified that one of them, a widow named Madeleine Christophle, had been threatened by Lecompte himself. As she was laughing with her neighbors, he had come up, saying, "There are some Mississippians laughing." The women indignantly replied that they were not "riff-raff for Mississippi". Lecompte then said he had orders to get people and that they had better beware lest they be taken. Later, according to Madeleine and her companions, he had gone to the house, shouting

oaths and saying that he still had to get forty people, and had tried to force their door open.

Several attempts had been made to seize boys in the streets. A town official had seen Lecompte and two other men dragging two fifteen-year-old boys through the streets. A crowd of women collected, fought off the abductors with their bare fists, and caused them to take to their heels. Marie Louise Le Redde had seen a man with three boys who cried out, "We don't want to go to Mississippi", as the man ordered "Come along, come on!" A boy of sixteen said that Bertault had come up to him, disguised as a beggar, but had run away when the boy recognized him and called out his name.

Some of the men had been enticed by false contracts, Lecompte having agreed to fantastic demands on the part of people brought to him in the café in which he operated. Étienne de la Guette testified that he had been accosted by a man in a café near the wharves. He had been led into an inner court, where Lecompte offered and signed a contract giving La Guette 320 *écus*. Jean Rotier, an eighteen-year-old wheelwright, had come to Orléans to look for work. When he entered a restaurant, one of Lecompte's accomplices gave him several drinks, and when he was quite drunk, took him to Lecompte, saying that he had asked to sign up for Mississippi. Lecompte had agreed to his drunken request for fifty *écus* per year for seven years, plus an allowance for food and clothing until his departure. No money had changed hands in either case.

One of the gang was even accused of wearing robes disguising him as a priest. A forty-year-old vineyard worker said he had come into town on his way to a vineyard where he hoped to get work. A man in a soutane accosted him, represented himself to be one of the canons of a local church, and said he was looking for a man to do some work in his garden. When he refused to give the address but said he would escort him there himself, the workman became suspicious, feared abduction, and refused the job.

The testimony covers events of the first three weeks of May, 1720, suggesting that one of the gangs was concentrating in the town of Orléans during that period. The terror which its presence caused is evident from the testimony. It is unfortunate that there is no record of the successful abductions, the deported victims being, of course, unavailable as witnesses.

This Orléans dossier corroborates Saint-Simon's story of the activities of the *bandoliers*. We do not know whence this particular gang came



or where it went. We are not told in the dossier that the episode had any connection with the "kidnapings in Paris and all over the kingdom" described by Saint-Simon.<sup>19</sup> But from dates and by a comparison with the description of similar trouble in Paris several weeks earlier,<sup>20</sup> we may infer that Saint-Simon's story was not exaggerated and that all France may have trembled with fear at the mere mention of "Mississippi" during the last few weeks of Law's supremacy.

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<sup>19</sup> See note 14 above.

<sup>20</sup> Arch. Nat., MS. Reg. U 363.

## DOCUMENTS

### ITALY AND HER ALLIES, JUNE, 1919

IN 1915 Italy entered the war on the side of the Allies. The rewards she was to receive for the aid which she would bring to their cause were specified in the Treaty of London of April 26, 1915, but when the war was liquidated, she found that she had not been able to secure all that had been promised.<sup>1</sup> The greatest single factor which stood in the way of the realization of Italy's territorial ambitions in the Adriatic was the intervention of the United States, for President Wilson came to the Peace Conference armed with his Fourteen Points, of which Point IX was in flagrant contradiction with the Treaty of London.<sup>2</sup>

The result was that Italy's participation in the Peace Conference resolved itself to a large extent into a dispute with Wilson. Orlando and Sonnino, the chief Italian delegates, had long been aware that such a conflict might arise, and it is hard to see how, in view of Wilson's immovable attitude, it could have been avoided unless the Italians were willing to abate their claims. As a matter of fact they were willing to do this to some extent, but not sufficiently to come to terms with Wilson, and the injection of the additional claim for Fiume, not included in the Treaty of London, was handled in such a way that instead of becoming an element of compromise it turned into a further source of friction.

The fact that the United States, Great Britain, and France were mainly interested in the German settlement did not help the Italian case. In fact, the Italian question was not taken up in earnest until the middle of April, 1919. Frayed tempers and poor diplomacy combined to produce the climax of Wilson's famous manifesto of April 23, which caused Orlando and Sonnino to withdraw from the conference. Orlando's belief that the Allies would offer concessions to secure the Italians' return proved to be mistaken, and they came back on May 6 empty-handed and

<sup>1</sup> The treaty of peace with Austria was signed on September 10, 1919. With Yugoslavia an agreement was reached at Rapallo on November 12, 1920. The Treaty of Rapallo failed to settle definitively the problem of Fiume, which was not finally disposed of until 1924. Peace was made with Turkey by the Treaty of Sèvres of August 10, 1920, but that treaty never came into effect, and a fresh settlement was made in 1923 as the result of which Italy retained only the Dodecanese and Rhodes.

<sup>2</sup> Point IX reads: "A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality."

in a weakened position. Their allies and Wilson had taken advantage of their absence to send the Greeks to Smyrna.<sup>3</sup>

Between the return of the Italians to Paris and the signature of the German treaty on June 28 two attempts were made to reconcile the Italian-American divergence, first under the sponsorship of Colonel House, then by negotiations between Tardieu and Crespi. Both were shipwrecked on the issue of Fiume.<sup>4</sup> Unable to extricate himself, Orlando was finally defeated in the Italian chamber on June 19. A point had been reached where the arguments on all sides had been repeated *ad nauseam*, and nothing was to be gained by merely going over the same ground. The Allies (Great Britain and France) were reluctant to part with Italy, but there was no love lost on their part for the Treaty of London. In addition, if a choice had to be made by them between Italy and the United States, there could be no question as to which side they would take.

Up to this point, while the consequences of a breach had been made amply clear to the Italians, the general tone of discussion had been in the nature of a plea for what might be described in a general way as the new order which Wilson was seeking to bring about in international relations, a new order symbolized by the League of Nations and for the creation of which Italy was bidden to make certain sacrifices. Such was the dominant note both of Wilson's manifesto and of the Balfour memorandum handed to Orlando just before his departure for Italy on April 24.

Following the fall of the Orlando government, a new Italian delegation was appointed.<sup>5</sup> The French and the British used the occasion to join forces definitely with Wilson, and a strong note was drafted for the Italians with the clear intent of exerting pressure upon them—as much pressure as could be exerted without taking the initiative in causing a formal break. This note, originally drafted by Balfour, was discussed in the council on June 28, the day of the signature of the Treaty of Versailles. It was handed to Tittoni upon his arrival, and nothing could have been better calculated to give him an idea of the nature and difficulty of the task which confronted him. It marks a definite stopping point and may well be characterized as the nadir in the Italian negotia-

<sup>3</sup> Smyrna is in the portion of Asia Minor that was allotted to Italy in the St. Jean de Maurienne Agreement of 1917. Owing to the failure of Russia to ratify this agreement, Great Britain and France refused to recognize its validity.

<sup>4</sup> For a detailed discussion of these negotiations see Albrecht-Carrié, *Italy at the Paris Peace Conference* (New York, 1938), chaps. vi, vii.

<sup>5</sup> Orlando was succeeded by Nitti, whose accession to power was not welcomed by the British or the French. Nitti remained in Italy, and the headship of the new Italian delegation was assumed by Tittoni, his foreign minister.

tions; after that relations between Italy and her allies gradually—albeit slowly and painfully—began and continued to improve, while the United States—also very slowly—began to recede into the background.

The existence of this communication has always been known, but the original text has not heretofore been available. An Italian translation was given by Crespi in his recently published memoirs.<sup>6</sup> The text of the note appears in the collection of the proceedings of the Peace Conference which the French ministry of foreign affairs has caused to be printed, though it has not been published.<sup>7</sup> Copies of this collection were sent to the governments of the various participating nations, but they are not available for general use. Crespi, owing to his position at the conference and in Italy since that time, has had access to this collection, from which he made the Italian translation previously referred to.<sup>8</sup> The text reproduced below is a transcription of the original French text as it appears in the documentary collection.

Some knowledge of the contents of the note could be gained from Tittoni's reply to it, which has long been available.<sup>9</sup> It is not surprising that Italians have referred to the note with bitterness and resentment. This is not a plea for sacrifices toward the creation of a better world. It is an attempt, rather specious in some of its aspects, at establishing the contention that Italy herself had failed to live up to the Treaty of London, not only by her additional demand for Fiume (no great emphasis is laid on this point) but by her conduct of the war from the very beginning and by her behavior toward her allies, particularly in Asia Minor. It is in the nature of a severe indictment leading up to a clearly stated threat: Italy must live up to the alliance or take the consequences.

RENÉ ALBRECHT-CARRIÉ.

*New York City.*

<sup>6</sup> Silvio Crespi, *Alla difesa d'Italia in guerra e a Versailles* (Milan, 1937), doc. 57, pp. 803-807.

<sup>7</sup> *Recueil des Actes de la Conférence de la Paix*, Partie I, *Actes du Conseil Suprême, Recueil des Résolutions*, Deuxième Fascicule, *Du 24 mars au 28 juin 1919* (Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1934), pp. 292-94. Marked *Setvet* on the cover.

<sup>8</sup> Crespi was minister of supplies in Orlando's cabinet. He was in Paris from the beginning of the conference and took part in the work of the economic commissions. He was left in charge by Orlando when the latter went back to Italy in April. In May he became one of the delegates, replacing Salandra, who had resigned. He was one of the Italian signatories of the Treaty of Versailles, and, despite his very strong feelings toward Nitti, he stayed on as a member of the second delegation headed by Tittoni. In 1922 Crespi was instrumental in helping the present regime to establish itself in power.

<sup>9</sup> See Tommaso Tittoni and Vittorio Scialoja, *L'Italia alla conferenza della pace* (Rome, 1921), pp. 117-23. The reply was actually drafted by Scialoja, who held second place on the delegation.

## EXTRACT FROM MINUTES OF THE COUNCIL

1919  
28 Juin, (18 H.)

*Questions italiennes en Adriatique et Asie Mineure.  
Mémoire à la nouvelle Délégation italienne.*

Le Président Wilson, ayant préparé des instructions pour la Délégation américaine au sujet des problèmes italiens (n. 629), et M. Balfour ayant préparé un projet de mémorandum franco-britannique à remettre à la Délégation italienne, ces documents sont examinés le 28 Juin (10 h. 30). Après certaines modifications au projet de mémorandum, au cours de la séance du matin et de celle de l'après-midi,

Le document suivant est approuvé:

"Le changement dans la Délégation italienne est survenu à un moment où les associés de l'Italie éprouvaient une grande anxiété au sujet de la part prise par elle dans la cause commune. Bien que rien n'ait pu être plus amical que les relations personnelles ayant uni les Représentants des cinq Puissances au cours de nombreux mois de discussion anxieuse et bien que nous reconnaissons avec plaisir l'aide et la coopération que la Délégation italienne a apportées à l'établissement de la paix avec l'Allemagne, nous nous sentons moins heureux du sens général des négociations affectant d'autres aspects du règlement mondial.

"Il n'est pas douteux que le malaise actuel des affaires est dû aux complications que le développement des événements politiques et militaires a fait naître depuis la signature du Traité de Londres en 1915. Depuis lors, l'aspect du monde a changé. Le traité avait été conclu avec la Russie, la France et la Grande Bretagne, mais la Russie n'est plus dans la guerre. Il envisageait une paix victorieuse sur l'Empire austro-hongrois; mais lorsque cette victoire la plus complète a été obtenue, l'Empire austro-hongrois avait cessé d'exister. Il prévoit que si la Turquie subit une défaite complète, des parties de l'Empire turc pourront être assignées aux vainqueurs; mais bien que la Turquie ait cependant été complètement battue, et que les peuples étrangers qu'elle gouvernait mal doivent être séparés de cet Empire, ils ne seront pas remis dans la possession des conquérants, mais les sphères d'influence que ceux-ci pourront acquérir ne seront pas détenues par eux d'une façon indépendante, mais comme fidéicommissaires ou mandataires de la Société des Nations.<sup>10</sup> En 1915, l'Amérique était neutre; mais en 1917, elle est entrée dans la guerre sans être gênée par un traité quelconque et à un moment où le développement des idées politiques, auxquelles elle a donné la plus puissante impulsion, était en voie d'aboutissement rapide.

"Il est surprenant que la situation ainsi créée présente des complications que seules la plus extrême bonne volonté et la plus claire loyauté pourront

<sup>10</sup> The distribution of mandates was arranged during the absence of the Italians. When Orlando returned to Paris and resumed his place in the council, he acquiesced in the *fait accompli*. At the same time a committee of Great Britain, France, and Italy was appointed to examine the application of article 13 of the Treaty of London (colonial compensations). This committee held several fruitless meetings in May, during the course of which Crespi, the Italian member, offered to waive Italy's claim for compensation in East Africa if she were given a mandate. But the British and the French members refused to consider this proposal on the ground that the issue of mandates had been closed. The colonial question has been one of the greatest Italian grievances since the time of the Peace Conference.

surmonter avec succès. Le Traité de Londres, depuis le début, n'a pas été strictement observé. L'Italie s'était engagée à employer toutes ses ressources à poursuivre la guerre en commun avec les Alliés contre tous leurs ennemis. Mais elle n'a pas déclaré la guerre à l'Allemagne pendant plus d'un an, et elle n'a pris aucune part dans la guerre contre la Turquie. Par le Traité de Londres, la partie centrale de l'Albanie devait être constituée en un État autonome sous une protection italienne, tandis que l'Albanie du Nord et l'Albanie du Sud devaient, en certaines éventualités, revenir respectivement à la Serbie et à la Grèce. Mais, en 1917, l'Italie a fait une déclaration de protectorat sur tout le pays,—un protectorat qu'elle paraît avoir exercé depuis. Par le Traité de Londres, Fiume était, avec le consentement de l'Italie, attribué à la Croatie. Mais, depuis l'armistice, l'Italie a concentré des troupes dans le voisinage, et des lois locales paraissent avoir été promulguées au nom du Roi d'Italie. Sur ces entrefaites, l'Amérique qui, à la différence de la France et de la Grande Bretagne, n'était pas partie au Traité de Londres, s'est opposée, conformément aux principes généraux de règlement agréés par toutes les Puissances alliées et associées, y compris l'Italie, à placer sous la domination italienne des majorités slaves dans l'Adriatique orientale; et aucun arrangement en ces matières ennuyeuses n'a été réalisé.<sup>11</sup>

"Évidemment la situation ainsi décrite est d'une difficulté toute particulière; mais nous devons ajouter que les difficultés ont été grandement augmentées par la politique poursuivie en Asie Mineure par le Gouvernement italien et les troupes italiennes. Cette question, comme Votre Excellence le sait peut-être, a été l'objet d'un chaud débat au Conseil des Quatres. Le Président Wilson, M. Clemenceau et M. Lloyd George, se sont plaints dans les termes les plus vigoureux des agissements à Scala Nova et ailleurs en Anatolie du Sud-Ouest.<sup>12</sup>

"Ils présentent le plus vif contraste entre la politique du Gouvernement grec, qui ne fait aucun mouvement de troupes sans l'assentiment, et généralement à la requête des Puissances alliées et associées, y compris naturellement l'Italie elle-même, tandis que l'Italie, qui est une de ces Puissances, et comme telle connaît tout ce qui est fait par ses amis, opère des débarquements sans en donner le moindre avis à ceux dont elle partage les conseils, dont elle prétend appuyer la politique générale, mais dont les observations sur ce point sont par elle ignorées avec persistance.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> The real dispute was over the eastern land frontier of Italy. The Italians were willing to relinquish Dalmatia, but they insisted on the Treaty of London line as their frontier with Yugoslavia, thereby bringing Italian territory to the gates of Fiume. Wilson clung to a line running along the middle of Istria. He had weakened his case, insofar as he rested it on the ethnic argument, by his readiness in agreeing to the Brenner frontier.

<sup>12</sup> These complaints were a recurring theme in the council discussions. The full minutes of the council are not available, but a convenient summary of the proceedings bearing on this issue is given by D. H. Miller, who had access to the minutes. Cf. Miller, *My Diary at the Conference of Paris* (New York, privately printed, pref. 1924), XIX, 558-68, covering the period from April 30 to June 28.

<sup>13</sup> The situation in Asia Minor was one of the greatest irritants in the dispute between Italy and her associates. It was handled in a very sorry manner on all sides. The Italians, balked in the Adriatic, sought to establish themselves in Asia Minor, where they effected some landings on the plea of maintaining order. In retaliation Wilson, Lloyd George, and Clemenceau invited Venizelos to send a Greek expedition to Smyrna. To be sure, the Greeks were acting formally in the name of the conference, which included Italy; but in fact Italy's consent to a *fait accompli* was in the nature of a face-saving device. The Italians

"Il est difficile de comprendre pleinement cette manière d'agir de la part d'une Puissance amie. A première vue, elle peut paraître poussée par l'idée que des territoires occupés par des troupes d'une nationalité donnée seront attribués à cette nationalité par les termes définitifs de la Paix. Mais ceci n'a jamais été dans les vues des autres Puissances alliées et associées, et nous avons les meilleures raisons de supposer que ce n'est pas l'idée de l'Italie. Nous noterons ici un paragraphe à ce sujet, auquel le Représentant italien a donné son adhésion:

'Aucun État ne sera recompensé par une augmentation de territoire pour prolonger les horreurs de la guerre; et les Puissances alliées et associées ne seront pas portées à modifier les décisions prises dans l'intérêt de la Paix et de la justice par un usage sans scrupule de méthodes militaires.'

"Il est inutile de dire que nous n'avons pas fait cet exposé de nos difficultés communes pour d'autre motif que de contribuer à les résoudre. Le Traité de Londres, la Déclaration anglo-française de novembre 1918,<sup>14</sup> les 14 points du Président Wilson, tous s'appliquent à la situation; tous doivent, en des voies différentes, être considérés, quand l'Italie discute avec ses Alliés et Associés les aspects du règlement final qui la concernent de plus près; mais ils ne peuvent être considérés comme des contrats susceptibles seulement d'une stricte interprétation légale. L'Italie elle-même ne les a pas traités ainsi; et si les Associés s'y efforcent, un règlement amical ne paraît pas au-dessus de la volonté des hommes. Car, ainsi qu'il a été indiqué, ils ont été rédigés à diverses époques dans un monde en changement rapide et sous la pression de motifs largement différents. Ils ne pouvaient être et n'ont pas été à tous égards cohérents. Ils sont en partie périmés ou en voie de le devenir, et ils ne peuvent être exécutés dans leur intégralité. Dans ces conditions, ce qui paraît être nécessaire, c'est un nouvel examen de l'ensemble de la situation. Que les Quatre Grandes Puissances occidentales, l'Amérique, la France, la Grande Bretagne et l'Italie, considèrent ensemble avec un esprit nouveau et une parfaite franchise, quelle solution peut être trouvée qui soit compatible à la fois avec les intérêts matériels de l'Italie, ses aspirations continues et les droits et susceptibilités de ses voisins. Les difficultés vers une telle solution sont grandes, mais elles ne sont pas insurmontables. Nous estimons cependant être obligés d'ajouter qu'il est tout à fait sans utilité, à notre avis, de discuter des conditions de Paix à Paris, en tant qu'amis et associés, si l'un de nous poursuit ailleurs une action indépendante et même antagoniste. Si, par exemple, l'Italie insiste, après nos instantes protestations, à maintenir des troupes en Anatolie, ce ne peut être que parce qu'elle cherche à obtenir par la force tout ce qu'elle réclame comme droit. C'est tout à fait incompatible avec l'alliance véritable; sa fin inévitable est un isolement complet. C'est aux hommes d'État italiens à dire si c'est ou non l'intérêt de l'Italie. Pour nous

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do not seem to have been agreed among themselves on a policy for Asia Minor and increased their difficulties by acting at cross purposes. By landing troops on her own initiative, Italy unwisely placed a telling argument in the hands of her allies—or rather opponents in this case.

<sup>14</sup> This declaration stated it to be the aim of France and Great Britain to secure "the complete and definitive emancipation of the peoples so long oppressed by the Turks, and the establishment of Governments and national administrations deriving their authority from the initiative and free choice of the indigenous populations". To this end, France and Great Britain were merely to assist these peoples in establishing these governments and administrations, and presently Syria and Mesopotamia were set up as Class A mandates.



et le monde la perte serait immense, car l'aide que l'Italie a rendue à l'humanité, en aidant au rétablissement d'une paix durable grâce à la coopération internationale, est sans prix. Pour l'Italie, cela signifierait la perte de toute assistance ou aide ultérieure de la part de ceux qui ont été ses associés. Pour nous, une telle fin paraîtra désastreuse, mais, si la politique italienne poursuit son cours sans changement, elle semble aussi inévitable."

Sir Maurice Hankey obtiendra la signature de M. Lloyd George avant son départ, puis celle de M. Clemenceau, qui communiquera le mémorandum aux italiens. Le Président Wilson enverra un mémorandum séparé qui contiendra une référence au Dodécanèse.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### GENERAL HISTORY

*The Cultural Approach to History.* Edited for the American Historical Association by CAROLINE F. WARE. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940. Pp. ix, 359. \$3.50.)

THIS is a volume of papers presented at the sessions of the American Historical Association in 1939. Thirty-eight scholars participated in the undertaking, and Caroline F. Ware, besides serving as contributor and editor, writes the introduction. The essays are arranged under six general heads: techniques of cultural analysis, cultural groups, cultural institutions, the cultural role of ideas, the dynamics of cultural change, and sources and materials of cultural history. As usually happens in such co-operative enterprises, the papers vary in length and in the evidences of labor, care, and thoughtfulness bestowed upon them. Yet so many are of high quality that to mention a few and comment upon them would be invidious; and, since within the compass of a brief review all cannot be drawn into consideration, a sense of justice suggests that these few lines be devoted to the general plan of the book and the controlling conception set forth by the editor.

In the plan nationalities, the family, population data and movements, ideas (two brief papers), and literary manifestations receive the major portion of the space allotted to substantive materials. Economic institutions—the forms, ownership, and distribution of property—are treated incidentally and in a fragmentary manner. There are only four essays of this character: two on industrial cities and two on corporations. Military institutions are represented by one paper on the German army of the Second Reich. It would be easy to criticize the several papers, then, as lacking in an organization and content that conform to the structure of any controlling conception; but gratitude to those who have made this beginning and recognition of the harassing, if not insuperable, difficulties involved in such co-operative undertakings prescribe praise for what has been accomplished rather than facile remarks about things left undone. Speaking generally, it is fitting to say that students of history will find stimulating suggestions in all the essays and should be grateful for what they receive.

At this stage in the development of American thought about historiography it is the controlling conception here introduced by the editor, rather than specific fulfillments, that gives special and indeed commanding significance to the volume. Dr. Ware sets this forth in the introduction. Appropriately she opens with a brief review of manifestations through which the theory and practice of historical writing have passed. To summarize

them: (1) the old objectivity formula under which facts speak for themselves; (2) the widening of the content formula to include, besides political facts, economic and social facts; (3) the manifestation of distress about biases or fictions entering into the selection and arrangement of facts; (4) the new history formula calling for the use of psychology, sociology, and other disciplines in historical research and writing.

At this point we have arrived. It is a kind of intellectual crisis. Now, Dr. Ware says, in effect, the historian "cannot" turn his back on the collateral disciplines, rely on the old formula of letting the facts speak for themselves, or be content to confess his own predilections. Parenthetically, if ungraciously, it could be said that historians not only "can" do these very things but very often do do them, perhaps now with more twinges of thought and conscience than formerly.

How can the historian escape from the tyranny of his frame of reference, the constitution of his own mind, and attain the "objectivity", so widely desired and praised, in the presence of history as actuality (not mere historical facts)? Dr. Ware seems to be offering the escape from the dilemma. "One discipline", she tells us, "which has necessarily freed itself from the frame of reference of Western culture is anthropology." Anthropologists have developed the concept of "culture". The concept implies that any given society is integral, that all aspects of life are to be considered, that relationships among the parts are to be kept in view. The concept also gives us "a tool" with which to study change. More than this, "the cultural approach provides a basis for selection, organization, and interpretation by its assumption that every society has a structure of institutions . . . and by assuming that no part is to be understood without reference to its place in the whole". Still more, and this is the intellectual climax, the concept of culture, "in the hands of the sophisticated historian . . . allows him to recognize and state his assumptions in terms of the basic values of his society, and not simply in terms of the disagreements arising within the frame of reference provided by that society".

This is a series of remarkable propositions which, if I understand them correctly, mean that anthropologists have escaped the structures of their own minds and that by the cultural "approach" the historians can do likewise. Thus a new objectivity, or something that savors of it, is attained. Space does not permit me to explode the new fiction by bringing to bear on it the thought of Aron, Droysen, Croce, Mannheim, Vaihinger, and a flock of other critical witnesses. So I let that pass.

It seems to me, however, that there is something truthful in the cultural "approach", namely, the conception that all "primary" manifestations of society in development are interrelated—including specifically, positively, and explicitly economic manifestations—that knowledge of each may be enlarged by a study of relationships, and that the present task of those who

accept this view is to exemplify, illustrate, and document it as far as may be humanly possible. The cultural conception is, I think, one way of avoiding the present confusion in historiography and reaching a fuller, more precise, and more usable understanding of history, that is, our world and the life of men and women in it.

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CHARLES A. BEARD.

*Essays in Polynesian Ethnology.* By ROBERT W. WILLIAMSON. Edited by RALPH PIDDINGTON, Reid Lecturer in Anthropology in the University of Aberdeen. With an Analysis of Recent Studies in Polynesian History by the Editor. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1939. Pp. xlii, 373. \$7.00.)

THE plan of this book sounds like an interesting and methodologically fruitful undertaking. Dr. Piddington, articulately representing the functional school of social anthropology which is associated with the leadership of Professor Bronislaw Malinowski, has undertaken to edit a series of essays by the late Dr. Williamson, who represented an extremely divergent approach to ethnological material. It is Dr. Piddington's contention that by subjecting Dr. Williamson's essays to critical analysis he can throw into relief the methodological defects of the historical approach for which Dr. Williamson stands. These essays, published posthumously, are part of Dr. Williamson's monumental works, in which he has subjected a large number of doubtfully reliable sources to the most patient and unjustifiably detailed scrutiny in an effort to reconstruct the principal migrations in Polynesian history.

The plan is a daring and interesting one. The book, however, does not fulfill its promise. The Williamson essays themselves represent, like their predecessors, a mass of correlations of disparate source materials arranged to uphold imaginative and unverifiable conclusions. Dr. Piddington then proceeds to attack the theories of waves of migration in Polynesia not on the basis of the Williamson material but mainly in terms of another statement of the historical reconstructionist school, E. C. Handy's theories. His argument runs like this: The historical reconstructionist hypothesizes two main migrations to account for Polynesian cultures; if it is possible to construct a plausible hypothesis of how the similarities and differences characteristic of recorded Polynesian cultures could have come about without invoking a two-migration hypothesis or without relying on so-called historical data, then the case is proved against the value of such reconstruction. He then proceeds to construct tables of "human needs" which are met or not met by Polynesian institutions and to declare that on the basis of such an analysis we can account for existing Polynesian institutions and the variations and similarities within them. This whole hypothesis of human needs, however, is treated in the most naïve fashion; the author does not distin-

guish between needs which are the result of being bred in a Polynesian culture and needs which appear to be universally human. On the basis of much of his argument there is no reason why Polynesian culture should not have arisen all over the world nor any explanation of why it is found in Polynesia. The position which he criticizes—the flat static reconstruction on the basis of traits—is a weak and invalid one, but not less so is the position from which he criticizes. What is lacking is recognition of the concept of the *culture area*, that in different geographical areas different types of culture have developed, each of which has a dynamic specific to that area and that cultural form as well as more generalized dynamics which it shares with all other cultures. The historical reconstruction position is too narrow in its preoccupation with discrete, arbitrarily defined traits; the functionalist position as the author states it is too wide and ignores the tremendous importance of specific, historically developed cultural forms.

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MARGARET MEAD.

*An Encyclopaedia of World History, Ancient, Medieval, and Modern, Chronologically Arranged: A Revised and Modernized Version of Ploetz's "Epitome".* Compiled and edited by WILLIAM L. LANGER, Coolidge Professor of History, Harvard University. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1940. Pp. xxviii, 1155, lxvi. \$5.50.)

SINCE 1863, when Dr. Karl Ploetz first published an *Auszug aus der alten, mittleren, und neueren Geschichte*, his *Epitome* has gone through twenty German editions, has been translated into many foreign languages, and has had, in its American version, three major revisions. This success has been achieved not by ballyhoo or by fad but by sheer usefulness to students and laymen. For two generations the *Epitome* has been the most practical ready-reference book on the market to political and military events and dates.

In its long and distinguished career the *Epitome* has grown from a manual of European history, weighted heavily on the German side, to an "encyclopaedia" of world history. Emphasis has gradually been distributed more equitably, falling on those territories which have made the more important contributions to our present society, and the scope of the work has been extended to include a consideration of the prehistoric age. Yet this most recent revision of the *Epitome* has not departed far from the fundamental character of its predecessors—it is essentially a catalogue of political and military historical data.

If it be true that history is the study of man's past in its economic, social, political, religious, and intellectual aspects, the *Epitome* is still far from being an "encyclopaedia of world history". Professor Langer is fully aware of this fact; and in his preface he explains that lack of space and the difficulties involved in reducing economic, social, and intellectual history to the

kind of statement required in a work of this nature precluded the possibility of taking the larger view. The trend of historical scholarship is, however, in the direction of universality and "synthesis", and I suspect that some courageous person will eventually attempt to bring the *Epitome* into line with this trend. In fact, Donald McKay, in his section on the nineteenth century, has endeavored (in eight pages) to do just that. The other fourteen authors might have profited by this example; and some space might have been found for their summaries by condensing drastically the eighteen pages devoted to arctic and antarctic explorations. The modern tendency of historians to stress the recent era has, on the other hand, found dramatic confirmation here. Nearly one half the book is devoted to the years since 1800, and two hundred pages have been given to the period since 1914.

If this version of the *Epitome* has not deviated far from the basic character of earlier editions so far as subject matter is concerned, it has digressed from the physical presentation of the material in earlier editions. Only one size of type has been employed, emphasis being obtained by bold-faced characters or by italics. New genealogical tables have been drawn up. And best of all, numerous maps have been scattered throughout the entire text.

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SHEPARD B. CLOUGH.

*The Development of European Civilization, from Earliest Times to the Present.* By CLARENCE PERKINS, University of North Dakota; CLARENCE H. MATTERSON, Iowa State College; and REGINALD I. LOVELL, Willamette University. [Prentice-Hall Books on History, edited by Carl Wittke.] (New York: Prentice-Hall. 1940. Pp. xxiii, 1174, xviii. \$4.50.)

*History of Civilization.* By HUTTON WEBSTER, Stanford University. (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company. 1940. Pp. xix, 1051. \$4.50.)

*The History and Philosophy of Education, Ancient and Medieval.* By FREDERICK EBY and CHARLES FLINN ARROWOOD. [Prentice-Hall Education Series, E. George Payne, Editor.] (New York: Prentice-Hall. 1940. Pp. xvi, 966. \$3.75.)

THERE has been a veritable torrent of college textbooks published on the history of civilization since the reviewer brought out his *History of Western Civilization* in 1935. But most of these books are a history of civilization in title only. Many of them are excellent and lively general histories of Europe, but few of them do more than to add occasional chapters on the history of culture to the conventional framework of political, diplomatic, and military history. They are written with the laudable object of making money for the authors and the publishers rather than from any overpowering devotion to cultural history.

The book by Professors Perkins, Matterson, and Lovell offers no exception to the rule. Like the popular manual by Ferguson and Bruun, with which it will doubtless be a sharp competitor, it is a splendid history of western Europe. But it gives no more attention to institutional, intellectual,

and cultural history than we might reasonably expect in any general survey of European history written today. Neither in organization nor in content can it be regarded literally as a history of European civilization.

The authors give little attention to preliterate history, though some 99 per cent of human experience took place during this period. The treatment of the ancient Near East is brief, and the book really gets under way with the history of Greece and Rome, which is covered in competent fashion.

So far as the reviewer can see, there are no important new ideas in the book, and many traditional viewpoints are retained, for example, the conception of a Renaissance in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It is interesting that along with this goes a virtual ignoring of the vital importance of the expansion of Europe after 1492 as a major cause of the decline of medieval civilization. The bibliographies give little indication of any serious effort to get acquainted with the more important literature on social and cultural history. As a conventional history of modern Europe the latter portions of the book are very well done.

Those who wish to offer a course in European history under the title of European civilization will find this an excellent and useful textbook. Those who really want to teach the history of civilization will find better suited to their needs a book like Geise's *Man and the Western World* or Professor Webster's manual.

Few men in this country are better fitted than Hutton Webster to write a history of civilization for college use. He is a veteran textbook writer and was one of the first to introduce a broader conception of history into high school circles. A well-trained sociologist and anthropologist, he necessarily entertains a comprehensive view of the nature and course of human development. His book is as excellent as one would anticipate from so talented an author.

There is an adequate treatment of human culture in the preliterate period. The author introduces one innovation in giving us a good treatment of preliterate culture in America. In his handling of antiquity he deals with ancient Chinese and Indian civilizations as well as with those of the ancient Near East.

This book is a real history of civilization. There is no attempt merely to sandwich in cultural history between great blocks of traditional political history. There is a rich treatment of the history of social institutions and of intellectual and cultural history, but there is enough material on political development to give a clear conception of progress in this field. The author fully recognizes that the expansion of Europe provides the master key to the understanding of modern history. The book is, perhaps, weakest in its treatment of economic development, though this is not by any means neglected. The bibliographies give evidence of wide acquaintance with the literature of social and cultural history.

All in all, the volume is an excellent introductory text on the history of



civilization, and if college teachers really want to present this subject, the book is likely to become a popular manual.

The volume by Professors Eby and Arrowood is not only an admirable history of education down to modern times but also provides a wealth of material on the history of philosophy and intellectual history during the period covered. Many of our manuals on the history of education are lamentably weak on the ancient period. This book will remedy the defect. It gives us 160 pages on education before the Greeks and over four hundred pages on Greek and Roman education. It will doubtless be widely used in courses on the history of education, but it should also be made required supplementary reading in courses on intellectual history and the humanities. It is to be regretted that old-fashioned ideas of the Renaissance are perpetuated, but this affects only a small portion of the book as a whole. All in all, it is a commendable product of textbook making.

Cooperstown, New York.

HARRY ELMER BARNES.

*A History of Economic Ideas.* By EDMUND WHITTAKER, Associate Professor of Economics, University of Illinois. [Longmans Economic Series, General Editor, Ernest L. Bogart, Professor of Economics Emeritus in the University of Illinois.] (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1940. Pp. xii, 766. \$4.00.)

IF for no other reason than that it represents a point of view somewhat different from that of most writers of histories of economic thought, this work contains useful material, especially for the teacher. When, however, one considers the reasons which appear to have motivated the author in adding another general history of economic theories, the argument is not decisive.

Superficially, the outstanding argument is that arrangement by various theories or doctrines, rather than by economists and "schools", is an important contribution. Obviously, however, the method has shortcomings. Each economist's various theories are more or less interrelated, and these interrelations are often significant, particularly in the general theory of "distribution". The method also minimizes the significance of schools of economic theory. It is doubtful if one can understand the history of economic thought without a more comprehensive presentation of these things. An illustration of the point may appear in the fact that Professor Whittaker presents no adequate discussion of the physiocrats.

The material for the history of economic thought can be classified under the heads of (1) economic theories proper, such as value and rent, (2) underlying social philosophies, such as individualism and nationalism, (3) material environment, and (4) institutions, such as property or religious authority. As a matter of fact, one finds a mixture of all these classifications in the work under review. In the reviewer's opinion, it is easier to associate

economic theories proper with their frameworks of reference when the chronological crosscut method is more largely relied upon.

One result is the unnecessary frequency of cross references. Of course, some cross classification of historical data is necessary under any analytic treatment. The settings for several different theories or doctrines may be the same, however, and therefore when the main divisions are theories or doctrines, either something of the setting must be omitted in many cases, or a great deal of repetition occurs.

The second argument suggested by the author is that his book makes possible the direct study of the more important writers through free quotation from their works. The reviewer's opinion is that, as a result, there is too much quotation. This gives the book a certain value as a sort of "golden treasury"; but this technique is really dangerous, since it may mask a good deal of arbitrary selection. It also leads to an unnecessarily voluminous presentation.

Another argument made by the author is that he minimizes the treatment of foreign-language economics and caters to English-speaking students by selecting material available in their language. This, he says, explains the emphasis placed upon Jevons in comparison with Menger and L. Walras! To Kameralism he gives barely a page, under the head of scope and method. In reality this is one of the weaker points.

Finally, there is a somewhat naïve emphasis of the need of considering environment. Aside from the author's particular interest in ethnological data drawn from prehistoric times or uncivilized tribes, this emphasis appears to mean little in the way of any new treatment.

It is to be noted that the author shows evidence of a sociological background and a special interest in the labor problem. In this connection one recalls that in his preface he states that the book makes "excursions outside what is usually regarded as the field of economics". In the reviewer's opinion, he shows some tendency toward the belief that institutions largely control human activities. Perhaps his judgments as a historian are somewhat influenced by this bias. In this connection there seems to be too little attention given to enterprise and profits; population and the labor problem are somewhat overemphasized; there is a plain leaning toward a very broad definition of the concept of wealth; underconsumption and overproduction are confused; and government intervention is, on the whole, favored. There are rather disparaging allusions to Adam Smith, as when it is said that "even" he admitted that such and such a function is suitable for government (*e.g.*, pp. 161 and 171).

In fact, it may be doubted if the work in question is truly historical in spirit. This one might suspect from the fact that the author appears to accept List's historical "stages" rather uncritically and from his schematic treatment of doctrines.

There is some lack of balance in the work, as indicated by the space devoted to different subjects. Perhaps too much is given to ancient and medieval philosophers and kings. Certainly, too much is given to the wages fund. Exaggerated attention is paid to writers on the labor problem and population, such as Alison, Beveridge, Bray, and Baxter. On the other hand, there are notable inadequacies or omissions. Von Thünen and Sismondi are slighted. There is no mention of Whately or Catalactics, and the author seems to play down any tendency in economic thought toward a narrow exchange-value system. Only twenty pages out of 766 are given to the chapter on profits, and one wonders why there should be no treatment of consumption and distribution. Many important names are omitted. There is almost nothing on Comte and his influence and practically nothing on Descartes. Condillac, Cossa, Fetter, Galiani, Gide, and Knies are not indexed.

On the other hand, the treatment of Cantillon and Cairnes is good, and both of these important figures—sometimes neglected—are given ample attention. It is also an admirable feature of the work that rather full treatment is given to the development of the theories of production, value, interest, money, and business cycles, the two latter subjects having been given little attention in most histories of economic doctrines.

It is such points as the last which seem to be the most important contributions of this book.

New York University.

LEWIS H. HANEY.

*Den danske Handels Historie fra de ældste Tider til vore Dage.* By MARIUS VIBÆK. Volume I, *Indtil Reformationen*. Volume II, *Fra Reformationen til 1820*. Volume III, *Fra 1820 til vore Dage*. (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel. 1932; 1935; 1938. Pp. 104; 105-325; 326-478.)

THIS is a textbook written for the use of students in the Danish Technical Trade School. Its aim, modestly stated by the author in the foreword to Part III, is "to provide a survey of the growth of Danish commerce through the ages" until it has come to play a leading part in the country's life. It lays no claim to being based on the author's own researches. It represents, however, the results of extended study of the literature of Danish economic history from primitive times to the present.

The story begins with the Stone Age and throws a fleeting spotlight on the feverish activities of the Vikings; it pauses to permit a more leisurely examination of the impact of the Hanseatic towns on northern European economy; it summarizes in outline the effect of the great discoveries of the sixteenth century on business methods as reflected in the joint-stock companies and carries the reader through the period of competition with Elizabethan England; it describes the rise of Danish trading companies operating in Iceland, the White Sea, India, Tranquebar, the West Indies, and the Guinea coast and surveys the alternating eras of affluence and adversity that

characterize the eighteenth century. After briefly noting the influence of French physiocrats and of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* upon mercantilist practices in the age of A. P. Bernstorff and Ove Guldberg, the author proceeds to an analysis of business life in the precarious but at times highly profitable period from 1792 to 1807, when cargoes on the high seas were seized and confiscated by powerful and supposedly friendly neighbors with almost as much abandon and as little regard for law and justice as is shown by "great" states today in time of war. The calamitous effects of the breach with England and of Napoleon's Continental System upon the economic life of the Danish-Norwegian state and people is especially interesting when compared with the almost equally critical period of the World War of 1914-18, described in the closing chapter.

The collapse of the Napoleonic Empire brought with it the dismemberment of the Danish-Norwegian state. Despite the loss of Norway in 1814 and further dismemberment at the hands of Prussia in 1864, Denmark was able gradually to adjust its economy to changing conditions, to find new trade outlets and opportunities in the now independent states of South America, in England, Germany, Russia, the United States, and the Far East. In this story the name of C. F. Tietgen appears as the chief figure in the Great Northern Telegraph Company, which, with the aid of some English capital, extended Russia's telegraphic network from Siberia to important centers in Japan and China in 1872. The shipbuilding firm of Burmeister and Wain, the East Asiatic Company under the guidance of H. N. Andersen, the United Steamship Company—or "D.F.D.S."—are examples of Danish efforts that helped to build up foreign markets. The development of scientific agricultural methods applicable for use by Danish farmers and its necessary complement, a system of production and distribution through co-operative societies, are given considerable emphasis. Footnotes and references to authorities are purposely omitted for reasons of space. The usefulness of the work for the student who desires to pursue any phase of the subject further is in consequence much restricted. As a popular survey Vibæk's book is sufficiently accurate for the general reader, and it is indeed the only available brief work devoted to the history of Danish trade.

*University of California at Los Angeles.* WALDEMAR WESTERGAARD.

*A History of Cyprus.* By Sir GEORGE HILL. Volume I, *To the Conquest by Richard Lion Heart.* (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1940. Pp. xviii, 352. \$6.00.)

A noted English classicist and numismatist has produced in this study of Cyprus a typically British creation, a book both learned and charmingly intimate. After thirty years of interest in the subject and with the confessed desire to "clear up in his own mind the facts", Sir George Hill sought, and definitely has achieved, "some sort of guide through the maze of authori-

ties". Narrative has largely displaced analysis and interpretation, but now and again there is a pleasant straying from the path into fields of conjecture, for example, a discourse of three pages on the authorship of the *Cypria* or some such pungent generalization as "Modern philological speculation seems to be in danger of returning to the eighteenth-century level." To one who has climbed the hills of Cyprus and sailed its shores, the study is not only a very useful historical narrative but a pass key to pleasant memories of a once peaceful but intellectually stimulating Mediterranean world.

For the periods embraced by the present volume—from the prehistoric to the first occupation of Cyprus by the English under the crusader Richard—the author appears to have covered adequately the wide range of authorities. For the fields beyond his own principal interests he has enjoyed the aid and the advice of competent specialists. Both quantity and quality in the surviving evidence vary widely, of course, from period to period, and one senses a certain overloading of the section dealing with the Greek and Persian wars, but on the whole a rather surprising balance has been attained. After a brief review of the natural features of the island 81 pages are devoted to the periods prior to the Greek colonization; 74 pages carry the narrative through the Persian period; the Hellenistic and Roman periods absorb 101 pages; and the final 73 pages describe the struggles between Byzantium and Islam and the coming of the English.

The author tends to exaggerate the military importance of Cyprus. Actually its location imposes domination of a relatively short stretch of the mainland coast in northern Syria and Cilicia, and these areas only rarely and briefly have managed to become centers of first-rate international significance. Perhaps too little attention, on the other hand, has been paid to the economic aspects and to the role in history of Cypriote shipping and the reasons for the decline in the importance of this contribution. One notes also an invariable tendency to deny the islanders any initiative and any creative role in the propagation of Mediterranean culture; in fact the author comes close to denying them a history of their own—save for brief interludes it is only "a pale and shifting reflection from the activities of the great powers". Perhaps the narrative is best epitomized by the quotation from Herodotus which the author cites: "Soft countries are wont to produce soft men; for it does not belong to the same land to grow admirable fruits and men who are good fighters."

*University of Michigan.*

ROBERT H. McDOWELL.

*Ultima Thule: Further Mysteries of the Arctic.* By VILHJALMUR STEFANSSON.  
(New York: Macmillan Company. 1940. Pp. 383. \$3.50.)

STEFANSSON, as we all know, is the champion of the "friendly Arctic" against ancient cosmographers and their modern followers who have portrayed the far north as exceedingly "unfriendly". This book deals largely

with the conflict between these concepts. The first two parts are concerned with the supposed voyages of Pytheas of Massilia and of Columbus into the polar or subpolar regions and the last with the nature of the Arctic summer. As if for a jury, the author sets before his readers opposing evidence and arguments, but it is not difficult to see where his sympathies lie.

It is recorded that both Pytheas and Columbus visited Thule. The fundamental questions at issue are: (1) were any such voyages actually made? and (2), if so, what was Thule and how are the records to be interpreted? Because he claimed to have penetrated regions which the theoretical orthodox cosmography pictured as uninhabitable because of the cold, Pytheas was generally regarded as a Baron Munchausen in ancient times. Most modern scholars, on the other hand, seem to agree that he did make a northern voyage, but the persistence of the doctrine of the "unfriendly Arctic" has made it hard for many of them to believe that he could have gone as far as Iceland and especially that he could have reached the edge of the pack ice between Iceland and Greenland. As for Columbus, the accounts of his voyage to Thule in 1477 have been discredited by one school of historians on a number of grounds—among them the "inherent improbability" of his having undertaken a winter voyage into the inhospitable polar seas to the high latitude of 73° mentioned by Ferdinand Columbus and Las Casas. Others, however, have been ready to accept the essential truthfulness of the record and to identify the Thule of Columbus with Iceland. Stefansson also sets forth a new and ingenious interpretation by Miss Eloise McCaskill, which seeks to carry Columbus even to the lonesome island of Jan Mayen, some 300 miles northeast of Iceland.

In these matters the reviewer is frankly what Stefansson would call a "fence-sitter". As a member of the jury, he would vote for the Scottish verdict "not proven". The original documentary evidence is so scanty that it forms a treacherous foundation for almost any interpretation. The main interest of the sections on Thule lies not so much in the actual conclusions to which the arguments point as in the data on which they are founded—data that the author has gone far afield to gather and that he presents in his customary fascinating style. They have to do with the boats of early peoples and the distances to which they could be sailed, with visibilities and mirages at sea, with the movements and nature of marine ice, the heights of waves, the characteristics of Icelandic tides, and such matters, to which the historians of Pytheas and Columbus have paid relatively little attention. Stefansson says (p. 221):

... perhaps, not being historians, we have been giving undue weight to non-historical arguments—have been sort of [*sic*] employing non-union labor when we called in outsiders, like Charcot. Still we don't quite see that; for if it is permissible for the historians to call in a geographer and climatologist like Thoroddsen to prove the absurdity of a 300-mile voyage beyond

Iceland in February, why is it not then equally permissible for us to call in a geographer and oceanographer like Charcot for rebuttal testimony?

The last section of the book deals with a simpler issue: whether or not there are true summers in the Arctic. Although ancient cosmographers and modern professors and textbook writers alike have denied this, Stefansson quotes so many travelers' reports and Weather Bureau records testifying to extended periods of excessively hot weather far beyond the Arctic Circle that the reviewer would vote here for a verdict in favor of the "friendly Arctic", despite the swarms of unfriendly mosquitoes that the Arctic summer brings forth.

*American Geographical Society.*

JOHN K. WRIGHT.

*Militant in Earth: Twenty Centuries of the Spread of Christianity.* By EDWARD ROCHIE HARDY, JR. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1940. Pp. vii, 255. \$3.00.)

NOWHERE else in such brief compass is there so excellent a comprehensive survey of the history of the expansion of Christianity. Professor Hardy combines sound scholarship with grace of literary expression. Much of his material, especially in the earlier sections, is drawn directly from the sources rather than from secondary compilations. Enough illustration is given to add concreteness to the necessary generalizations, yet the narrative is not overwhelmed by details, and the author succeeds in conveying a sense of movement. Since the little volume is frankly intended as a sketch, no extensive bibliography is appended, and the footnotes are few. Excellent judgment, however, has been exercised in the choices for the bibliography. The two sketch maps are admirable for the purpose. Some of the chapter headings show a happy faculty for characterizing a period with a phrase—such as the contrast between "Citizens of Heaven" for the first three centuries and "The Naturalization of Christianity" for the subsequent two centuries.

Dr. Hardy is at his best in the first five centuries of his story. To this period he devotes about two fifths of his space. Here he reveals the competence of the specialist, and the pages are alive with fresh insights and stimulating hints which the reader hopes will be developed more at length in later, detailed studies. The sections on the Middle Ages are also good but more cursory.

The weakness of the book is in its account of the period since 1500. Here the author gives the impression of having been constrained to essay the role of a guide in territory in which he is not comfortably at home. "The Age of Individuals" is a somewhat misleading caption for the nineteenth century. Dr. Hardy fails to convey what is one of the most striking facts about the spread of Christianity—that the period of the widest extension and of the most profound influence of that faith upon mankind as a



whole has been the past four and a half centuries, and especially the last century and a half. Nor does he seem to see the significant fact that even in the past twenty-five years, in spite of grave losses, Christianity has displayed a rapid growth in numbers and in cultural influence in Africa and in some of the most densely populated countries of Asia, notably China and India, and has regained some of the ground earlier lost in Latin America. Yet even in these chapters Dr. Hardy has penetrating comments. The book is of distinctly superior quality.

*Yale University.*

K. S. LATOURETTE.

*Medical Work of the Knights Hospitallers of Saint John of Jerusalem.* By EDGAR ERSKINE HUME, Lieutenant-Colonel, Medical Corps, United States Army. Foreword by His Most Eminent Highness Fra Ludovico Chigi-Albani. Preface by Lieutenant-General Sir Aldo Castellani. [Institute of the History of Medicine of the Johns Hopkins University.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1940. Pp. xxii, 371. \$3.00.)

THIS work was written by a Knight Hospitaller "as a labour of love" (p. vii) and also, it seems, for the glorification of the order (note the foreword, preface, and conclusion). Obviously a work produced under such influences cannot be considered a thoroughly objective piece of critical scholarship, and the reader will find numerous panegyric passages which detract from the mass of excellent material in the book. It deals, for the most part, with the hospitals of the order. There are detailed accounts from firsthand sources concerning the establishment of hospitals, their equipment, administrative problems, and staffs of doctors, nurses, and Hospitaller officials. For the earlier period (1065 to 1530) the evidence reveals much concerning the general functions of charity for unfortunates (whether sick or well) but has little to contribute concerning strictly medical activities. This section is somewhat beclouded by a tacit assumption that the Hospitallers' care for pilgrims and unfortunates of all kinds was a medical function. This unwarranted tendency to confuse the general functions of charity and hospitality in medieval hospices with modern hospital service is all too prevalent in works on medieval medicine. As a matter of fact, during the Middle Ages the establishments of the Hospitallers seem to have been primarily guest houses (hospices) for the care of transients and of unfortunates from the locality, and not hospitals (in the modern sense of the word) for the cure of the sick. The firsthand source materials for the early centuries of the order, from which Dr. Hume quotes generously (pp. 14 ff.), make it clear that until comparatively recent times the Hospitallers were concerned for the most part with the administration of charity. To be sure, the Knights not only dispensed food, clothing, and lodging but also nursed those who were sick. Strictly medical functions evolved slowly through the employment of visiting or resident physicians (probably from outside the

order) who prescribed for the Knights in their separate infirmary, for the poor in the sick ward of the hospice, and (in some cases) for sick folk in their homes in near-by regions. In the modern period, especially during the last two centuries, the medical functions have expanded rapidly, tending to eclipse other charitable activities.

For the recent period (since 1798) the author's emphasis is quite properly on the ambulance and hospital service of the order in wartime and in connection with the Red Cross. In this section, more noticeably than elsewhere, the account is devoted to a constant and thinly veiled laudation of the order's achievements. There are other irksome factors: the bibliography, in one general list, lacks critical analyses, and throughout the book authorities are cited in the body of the text. There are also a number of outstanding excellences, among them generous quotations from original sources and a large number of unusually fine pictures accommodately placed alongside the texts they illustrate.

*University of North Carolina.*

LOREN C. MACKINNEY.

*Japanese Expansion on the Asiatic Continent: A Study in the History of Japan with Special Reference to her International Relations with China, Korea, and Russia.* By YOSHI S. KUNO, Sometime Chairman of the Department of Oriental Languages in the University of California. Volume II. [Publications of the Northeastern Asia Seminar of the University of California, edited by Robert J. Kerner.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1940. Pp. xi, 416. \$4.00.)

THE second volume of Professor Kuno's work treats of the Tokugawa shogunate regime, with special reference to its relations with China, Korea, and Japan. Like the first volume, it consists of two parts—monographic text and the translated and annotated documents. The text deals with salient features of the Tokugawa administration in seven chapters, starting with Iyeyasu's attempt to make Japan Asia's commercial center and ending with the approach of Russia to Japan and Japan's reaction. The seclusion and segregation policy of the shogunate, the "national transformation and classical Renaissance", are also discussed.

The book reads smoothly and is, in general, a great improvement on the first volume. The author's knack of making the monograph somewhat sensational by upsetting the sense of proportion is noteworthy. In order to emphasize the absolute rule of the shogunate, for instance, Professor Kuno takes up in detail what is known as the "Dog Shogun's Animal Laws", giving more than twelve pages to the subject (195-208).

The second part is of major importance to the English-reading public as it contains in translation a number of state papers and other historical documents. Papers exchanged between Japan and Korea are especially important since they throw light upon a hitherto much neglected part of Far Eastern history. Yoshida Shoin's plan for the greater Japan, as well as

Hashima Sanai's, is certain to be revealing, though both Shoin and Sanai represent reaction on the part of the Japanese not merely to the Russian encroachment in particular but to the Western oncoming in general, including the British and the American.

An outstanding contribution to the history of Japan's relations with Asia, as Professor Kerner writes in the preface, Professor Kuno's book, it must be frankly stated, bears the mark of a scholar who did his work, probably a decade or so ago, in a foreign institution where up-to-date historical publications were hard to obtain. A glance at the bibliography attached tells the story of the predicament in which the author found himself. For to all intents and purposes recent works in the field by Professors M. Kurita, S. Inobe, R. Okamoto, K. Akiyama—a few out of many—are not consulted. Even the late Otsuki Nyoden's *Shinsen Yōgaku Nenpyō* is not mentioned. It is worth while to remark that in recent years Japanese historians have become keenly aware of the importance of particularly four great sources: (1) the records of the Ming dynasty in China, known as *Huang Ming Shih Lu*; (2) the records of the Chin dynasty, *Ta Ching Li Ch'ao Shih Lu*; (3) the records of the Li dynasty in Korea, *Li Ch'ao Shih Lu*; (4) the collected communiqués of the Liu Chin kingdoms, *Rekidai Hoan*. They are still rare and seldom available. As far as the writer knows, a copy of the first, though incomplete, is in the Gest Collection at Princeton. The second, lately reproduced by the Manchukuo government, is now in a number of American university libraries, including Columbia University's East Asiatic Collection. The last two are not yet to be found in this country but are accessible in several libraries in Japan. It seems reasonable to expect that a comprehensive work of this sort should be based at least upon those sources which are available in this country; and Japan is not so far from California.

It may be worth while to suggest that the author in his forthcoming third volume give more attention to the transliteration of Japanese names. He is so inconsistent as to put Kumazawa in one place and Yamasaki in another. In the third syllable both may be either za or sa. To call Banzan Hanzan (p. 132) is strange but excusable; to pronounce Professor Saito's individual name as Haisho (p. 398) and Yoshikawa's name as Tadatari (p. 132) is, however, unwarranted. Professor Kuno also has the temerity to call Japanese indiscriminately by family name, personal name, and pen name, all in the same line (pp. 101 and 140). He shows no sense of order when he introduces many names at a time indiscriminately, as on page 132. The names of fourteen scholars are there, just as if he had plucked flowers in the field and thrown them on the floor; chronological and linguistic arrangement is disregarded; the difference between the schools they represented is not indicated; and their relative importance receives no consideration.

Columbia University.

RYUSAKU TSUNODA.

*A History of the Gambia.* By J. M. GRAY, Judge of the Supreme Court of the Gambia. With a Foreword by Sir Thomas Southorn, Governor of the Gambia. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1940. Pp. x, 508. \$7.50.)

THE author of this detailed history of the Gambia for the years 1455-1938 is not quite just to himself when he says that he is "hardly the right person to write a history of the oldest British possession in West Africa". The book has its shortcomings, most of them acknowledged by the author; but the reader cannot escape a conviction that Mr. Justice Gray is no mere apprentice. He is, rather, an able craftsman in the gild of historians, and the latter will recognize his competence in this thoroughly documented study of a little-known part of Africa.

The modest author is primarily interested in presenting an unadorned and straightforward account of the events in Gambia's long diplomatic and political history. The story has an occasional tendency to become a kind of indiscriminating chronicle wherein events come close to having their importance determined by the mere mass of available documentary material rather than by the author's own considered judgment. At times attention to details becomes somewhat oppressive and makes the reader think of the author as a judge who hesitates to express his own opinion on matters under discussion.

A good deal of European diplomatic history is reflected here, particularly England's relations with the Dutch in the seventeenth century and with the French in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Those who have wondered why the island of Goree appears so often as the occasion of serious contention in European history will find part of the explanation here. It is interesting to note the efforts made at the very beginning of the eighteenth century to adopt a policy of neutrality that would keep Europe's wars out of Africa. Here are fresh illustrations of the difficult tasks that England assumed in her efforts to suppress traffic in slaves and the institution of slavery itself. The greater emphasis of the book is on the wars among the natives and the consequent hardships inflicted upon the white man's trade on the upper Gambia. Much light is thrown also on England's official indifference to colonial expansion in the middle of the nineteenth century and the practical results that threatened to follow.

Like most history, this account becomes thinner as it approaches the present, an effect that can be explained by the lack of available documents. Most surprising is the omission of the role of the Gambia in the Anglo-French Entente of 1904, when Yabutenda was ceded to the French so that they might have a landing place on the upper Gambia for their seagoing ships.

Early explorers went to the Gambia to find a "mountain of gold". Several generations passed, however, before it was discovered that the country's real wealth is the lowly peanut introduced by the Portuguese.

*Yale University.*

HARRY R. RUDIN.

*Haiti and the United States, 1714-1938.* By LUDWELL LEE MONTAGUE, Assistant Professor of History, Virginia Military Institute. With a Foreword by J. Fred Rippy, Professor of History, University of Chicago. [Duke University Publications.] (Durham: Duke University Press. 1940. Pp. xiv, 308. \$3.00.)

PROFESSOR Montague has written a very slender monograph on a very large topic. His volume may have some value as a brief outline of some aspects of American policy in the Caribbean, but it is distinctly inadequate as a study of the diplomatic relations between the United States and Haiti. In his chapters dealing with the history of Haiti from 1714 to 1804 a feeble attempt is made to sketch the political, economic, and social development of the colony under French control. It is evident that Professor Montague is unfamiliar with the literature on this subject. He has merely a slight acquaintance with the important secondary materials that are pertinent to his topic, and he completely ignores the vast amount of valuable data which the Library of Congress has made available in its collection of photostatic reproductions of documents in the French ministries of war, marine, and foreign affairs. Even the transcripts in the Henry Adams Collection have escaped his notice. Needless to say, he has not bothered to examine the correspondence in the British war, colonial, and foreign offices for materials that would have shed a great deal of light upon the background of Haitian-American relations. In chapter III he does make some scattered references to data in the British foreign office, but this correspondence has been extensively used by previous investigators, and Professor Montague merely follows well-worn historical trails.

After this blundering beginning one is not surprised to discover that no attempt has been made to use the unpublished correspondence of important American statesmen who helped to shape our foreign policy with reference to Haiti. The manuscripts of the following statesmen would have been exceedingly helpful to Professor Montague and would have given him a better appreciation of the problems connected with his study of American expansion in the Caribbean: Jefferson, Hamilton, Pickering, Seward, Banks, Sumner, Fish, Stevens, Schurz, Johnson, Black, Roosevelt, Root, Knox, and Bryan. It is to be regretted that the author did not look through the official records of American administrative control in Haiti during the period of occupation. Many of them are now available to scholars. A similar oversight is noted with reference to the archives of the Navy Department for the period previous to 1888. Finally, it should be pointed out that Professor Montague has made a most inadequate use of the rich storehouse of pertinent data contained in the American press.

It would be a tiresome task to extend this list of deficiencies in this little handbook on Haiti. The author's best chapters are those dealing with the period from 1885 to 1893. It is quite possible that this portion of his monograph constituted the core of a doctor's dissertation. By adding certain

chapters that betray haste in composition and evident lack of scholarship Professor Montague has produced a complete picture of Haitian-American relations, but it is a picture of very dubious value.

Fordham University.

CHARLES CALLAN TANSILL.

*French Refugee Life in the United States, 1790-1800: An American Chapter of the French Revolution.* By FRANCES SERGEANT CHILDS. [Institut français de Washington.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1940. Pp. xvii, 229. \$3.00.)

THIS volume illustrates all too aptly the sort of thing that may happen in doctoral dissertations. The last three quarters of the book are good. The style is satisfactory, the punctuation is fairly orthodox (though Miss Childs uses *sic* in a peculiar fashion); excellent and often hitherto unexploited collections of documents are used as the major sources of reference. New details and, occasionally, shrewd observations on *émigré* problems and modes of life reward the reader. An excellent bibliography, a really useful index, and a few interesting illustrations enhance the book's value. Before Miss Childs finishes, she has told an interesting story of the way in which the refugees made a living, of their social snobberies, of their political disputes among themselves and with the representatives of official France, of their writings and publications, of their contributions to learning and religion, of their reaction to Americans and of Americans' to them, of their roles as recipients of charity and as entrepreneurs in business, of the assimilation of some of them to the American way of life, and of the inadaptability of others. All of this is done with particular emphasis on Philadelphia. Though Miss Childs's story is in most of its significant aspects quite a familiar one to those who know the works of Howard Mumford Jones and Bernard Faÿ on Franco-American cultural relations, there is, nevertheless, fullness of detail in this work on many subjects which have received less attention from them. Miss Childs has, moreover, explored several family archives that were not available to them and has thus made a distinct, if minor, contribution to scholarship.

The first two chapters of the book are not, however, up to the same standards. The punctuation is curious, to say the least; the style limps; the footnotes, where they are not merely pedantic, are after a pattern that is quite unique; errors abound. The material is drawn almost entirely from secondary sources and not always the best, even college textbooks and biographical dictionaries not being regarded as unworthy of quotation. Homer, in the form of the doctoral committee which passed upon this dissertation, nodded conspicuously over the first quarter of this book. Or perhaps it was added at their suggestion after the examination and without their having had a chance to see it. In any case, the proofreader must have been asleep at his post.

It is really too bad that the first sixty pages, which were intended to give the European background of the *émigrés*, were not as carefully supervised or revised as the rest. A few remarks, judiciously scattered through the book, might then have made clearer the significance of that background as a factor in the *émigrés'* American adjustments. Miss Childs also muffed her opportunity to remind the reader that the refugee problem is an old one and perhaps has more than antiquarian interest.

University of Chicago.

LOUIS GOTTSCHALK.

*Of Human Freedom*. By JACQUES BARZUN. [An Atlantic Monthly Press Publication.] (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1939. Pp. 334. \$2.50.)

*The New Democracy and the New Despotism*. By CHARLES E. MERRIAM, Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago. (New York: Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1939. Pp. viii, 278. \$3.00.)

*Leviathan and the People*. By R. M. MACIVER. (University: Louisiana State University Press. 1939. Pp. ix, 182. \$2.00.)

THESE three volumes, two of which tack "new" onto an old label, form part of the movement of ideas which is at work to reconstruct the foundations of a civilization threatened by a relapse into barbarism. The totalitarian onslaught has taught us to take more seriously the values and ideals which a Menckonian cynicism and a Jamesian pragmatism had led us to treat with debonair lightheartedness. Each of the authors contributes to this all-important task in his way. Merriam, politician and politician, brings to the subject his rich experience and observation of the modern polity as it actually functions. MacIver, social philosopher and sociologist, traces the roots of the totalitarian ideology. Barzun, sprightly essayist and historian, boldly explores the whole realm of human affairs—art, science, education, and government—in quest of the new viewpoint.

Easily the most controversial book of the three is Jacques Barzun's series of readable essays. Barzun, in the manner of subtle minds, dislikes "absolutes" and "systems". He inveighs against those who would make a show of definition. Hence "the meaning of Absolutism, Mind, Matter, and Materialism is regulated by the context". There is no lack of awareness of logical and metaphysical issues; his treatment is inspired by two intellectual disciplines: historical method and pragmatic empiricism. He views pragmatism as a new name for some old ways of thinking—to quote William James himself.

To the delight of this reviewer Barzun insists upon the need for diversity in democracy. With all the shouting at this time about "unity", "agreement upon fundamentals", and the rest, the author's recognition of the need for dissent is welcome indeed. "The quest for certainty, the passion for abso-



lutes, and, even worse, the lustful desire to enforce the commonest jerry-built absolutes are the death of democratic culture". There is no unity, except the advice "to deal individually with particulars"—the unity, in other words, of many-sidedness, which "constitutes the democratic atmosphere". Democracy, to Barzun, is essentially a system of culture. It "depends upon cultural means for its maintenance". "Democratic conduct is primarily cultural and only indirectly political." The meaning of such statements should be clear, even though a Greek might well have asked: what is the political if not the cultural? Is not what pertains to the *polis* that which constitutes its "culture"? I mention this angle of the discussion because in contemporary speech the word cultural is coming to mean more and more what the Greeks implied by politics. In spite of Barzun's professed dislike for absolutes, he embraces some dogmas with unpragmatic ardor. Thus "there cannot be the slightest doubt that civilization presupposes democracy". Although I'd like to agree, even a quick glance at the history of civilization forces me to doubt such an interdependence. What is more nearly true is that democracy presupposes civilization of *the many*, and its failure appears intimately related to the failure to spread it gradually as civilization itself spread.

In Professor MacIver's volume we find the familiar liberal position completely and succinctly stated. The approach is general and philosophical; the new Leviathan is seen in both dictatorship and democracy. But the "genius of dictatorship" is condemned, while democracy is upheld as a principle transcending particular institutional patterns, such as parliamentarism. The following quotation offers a good sample: "If we identify democracy with any existing set of institutions, such as parliamentary procedures or congressional government or modes of popular representation, then doubtless it belongs only to a period. . . . Institutions change and pass. Only principles endure, principles that have their roots in human nature itself". This principle of democracy, according to MacIver, is not majority rule but (1) the distinction between the state and the community and (2) the free operation of conflicting opinions. If this were sufficient, the most democratic societies would have been the liberal monarchies of the nineteenth century. Actually, democracy is characterized by the absorption of the state by the community; the "state" has no place in democratic life. There are only the people and its government. MacIver seeks to escape from this conclusion by suggesting "a distinction between the form of government and the form of the state". But he fails to make clear what follows from this "distinction". Yet MacIver is no lover of the state. "We must always be on guard against the easy delusion that the state is some high entity above us . . . endowed with power or with right other than that which we bestow upon it." What better way is there for guarding against the delusion than to recognize it as a phantom, invented by the apologists of absolutism in order to clothe unrestrained power with the halo of communal value and significance?

By far the most practical contribution and transcending the scope of this

review is the volume by Charles E. Merriam. Rooted in broad experience in government and politics, it concentrates upon the elaboration and validation of certain basic democratic assumptions as well as the repudiation of their opposites under despotic regimes. With laudable emphasis upon the creedal quality of such assumptions, Merriam states them in terms of "I affirm . . ." There are seven such affirmations which, as stated by him, clearly delineate the scope of Merriam's conception of the New Democracy. He affirms (1) the possibility of vast gains in social production and standards of human living; (2) the advantages of rational discussion and of general consent and co-operation; (3) the value of the fraternal, equalitarian, and libertarian way of life and the permanent values of common judgment in common affairs; (4) the values of social control over the development of our social life and of democratic social planning; (5) the possibility of organizing liberty and equality within the framework of democratic society; (6) that the basic troubles of our time are not fundamentally "economic" only but are scientific and technological, territorial-racial, sociopolitical, philosophical, and psychological as well and that our problems transcend industry; (7) the validation of democratic assumptions by a comprehensive program vigorously directed toward the attainment of democratic principles. To these affirmations correspond repudiations of their opposites, one of which is (somewhat confusingly) labeled as an eighth point. The reviewer strongly agrees with Merriam's affirmations as well as with his assertion that "whether democracy rides the present storm depends upon whether it is able to develop a program and an organization adapted to the needs of our day". The insistence upon confidence in the judgment of the common man which these affirmations imply stands in welcome contrast to the belief in the elite, the "uncommon man", which Barzun expounds. Like so many sensitive, aesthetic persons, Barzun evidently shrinks from the clamor of the multitude. The spirit of Ortega y Gasset's *Revolt of the Masses*, as well as of Pareto, has flavored his thinking. With G. Mosca and William B. Munro he thinks that the few always rule. He asserts that it is impossible for any large group to govern themselves; indeed he alleges the impossibility of good government. All governments are oligarchies, he thinks. But apart from the fact that this is an unusual way of employing the word "oligarchy", Barzun seems to neglect entirely the difference between formal government and influencing the decisions of those who govern formally. That there is a pyramiding of talent and intellectual ability there can be little doubt. That the judgments involved in deciding upon the basic direction presuppose only a moderate amount of such talent seems equally clear. That such judgments are based upon an intuitive and traditional sense of communally shared values is one of the assumptions of democracy. Merriam puts the matter very well when he says: "Truly great natures are likely to find a response in the mass of mankind." It is only necessary to compare the Jeffersons, Lincolns, and Roosevelts with their European contemporaries to be-

come quite cheerful about the fundamental good sense of the common man. "The curse of aristocracy" (what Barzun calls oligarchy) "is not that great men fill great places, but that small men fill great places and piece out their inferiority with arrogance." To which one might add: "and that they cannot be removed even when their incompetence is evident to all". Purges are a poor and inefficient substitute for the continuous collective judgment of one's fellow men in the performance of public office. No one is infallible, least of all the common man, but that is a good reason for relying upon the judgment of the many rather than the few.

The three volumes here reviewed are all striking evidence of the leaven of effective revaluation that is rejuvenating our ideas on democratic government and society at present. The curse of the despots has at least this blessing, that it has forced us to abandon our smugness and to seek for a more adequate, a more generous conception of our future.

Harvard University.

C. J. FRIEDRICH.

*The Old Deal and the New.* By CHARLES A. BEARD and GEORGE H. E. SMITH. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1940. Pp. 294. \$2.00.)

*New Directions in the New World.* By ADOLF A. BERLE, JR. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1940. Pp. xi, 141. \$2.00.)

*America's Last Chance.* By ALBERT CARR. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1940. Pp. 328. \$2.75.)

*The Changing Pattern of International Economic Affairs.* By HERBERT FEIS. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1940. Pp. x, 132. \$2.00.)

*Not by Arms Alone: Essays on our Time.* By HANS KOHN, Professor of Modern European History, Smith College. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1940. Pp. ix, 161. \$1.75.)

*The Clash of Political Ideals: A Source Book on Democracy, Communism, and the Totalitarian State.* Selected and annotated by ALBERT R. CHANDLER, Professor of Philosophy, Ohio State University. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1940. Pp. xvii, 273. \$2.00.)

IN these six works there is so much agreement of attitude and atmosphere, if not always of specific opinion, that a very considerable common divisor would "go into" them all; it might be phrased, perhaps, like this:

The depression, the war, and the victory of the totalitarian states in Europe have challenged our easygoing American way of life as never before. To meet this challenge it is not sufficient to have military preparedness, we must also find a solution of our economic and social difficulties and thus justify our liberal-capitalist-democratic system against enemies from without and critics from within; for, of course, it is not to be thought that we will adopt any form of totalitarianism.

Emphasis, of course, differs within the framework of this common thesis. Mr. Feis, in a slight but thoughtful little book, raises rather than answers the question as to whether capitalism and individualism can survive in a

world which cares more for the state than for the person and envisages war as normal rather than peace.

Adam Smith . . . could unreservedly approve the Navigation Acts because "defense . . . is of much more importance than opulence" without regarding this observation as greatly limiting the validity and the general applicability of his main thesis. But today, when war and the preparation for war are "totalitarian", commanding the whole of the nation and all its resources, Smith's exception has enveloped the whole main pattern (p. 14).

Mr. Carr supplies dogmatic answers where Mr. Feis asks skeptical questions. He is definitely a propagandist, and his book is full of concrete and practical suggestions for developing a hard, efficient, "tough", and devoted democracy to meet the challenge of the dictators alike in war, business, and the realm of ideas.

Again, Professor Beard and Mr. Smith, though they view the New Deal reforms with general approval, apart from some misgivings about the rapidly growing national debt, are strongly opposed to the "collective internationalism" of President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull and favor a more limited policy of hemisphere defense only. Dr. Berle, on the contrary, closely associated with the present administration, is entirely at one with its domestic and foreign policy. He gives a careful study of the Lima Conference as an example of the Latin-American policy of the United States today. With great penetration he answers the question as to why the totalitarian regimes, with all their cruelty and despotism, manage to attract so many people; his answer is that competitive individualism causes many people to feel "left out", *i.e.*, useless in the world, while communism and fascism alike find a place for everyone, even if only as a humble cog in the wheel. Democracy must find a remedy for this old psychological weakness of the capitalist system, or it will lose adherents to its adversaries.

Professor Kohn's book is more of an ideological than an economic study and is notable for the scholarly care with which the roots of tyranny are traced from Sparta to Spengler. Professor Chandler's source book is for the most part a series of reprints of famous documents in the history of human freedom and statements of its creed from Pericles to John Dewey, supplemented by a few of the modern totalitarians such as Marx, Lenin, Mussolini, and Hitler. The Roman Catholic point of view is represented by an encyclical of Pius XI and Japanese *Bushido* ethics by an excerpt from Nitobe. For the immediate world situation these points of view are perhaps enough, but for a general historical survey one would expect also some representatives of the old conservative or monarchist critics of democracy, such as Hobbes or Burke or Maine, of libertarian socialists, such as H. G. Wells or Bertrand Russell, and of the anarchism of Tolstoi or Nietzsche.

*University of Michigan.*

PRESTON SLOSSON.

## ANCIENT HISTORY

*Wohltätigkeit und Armenpflege im vorchristlichen Altertum: Ein Beitrag zum Problem "Moral und Gesellschaft".* Von HENDRIK BOLKESTEIN, ord. Professor der alten Geschichte an der Universität Utrecht (Holland). (Utrecht: A. Oosthoek, Verlag A. G. 1939. Pp. xvi, 492.)

CHRISTIAN doctrine was such a powerful innovation in the history of social service that the link connecting it with earlier phases of social reform was almost entirely obliterated. The existence of welfare institutions in the pre-Christian world has been all too often ignored, and only occasionally have students of Christian charitable organizations given their attention to it, usually in introductory chapters written to point out the superiority of Christian reforms.

For the first time an attempt to present an exhaustive analysis of the welfare concept as it was formulated and brought to realization in the pre-Christian world is made by Bolkestein in the present work. The author emphasizes the fundamental difference between this concept as it was envisaged by Christian doctrine and the earlier pre-Christian idea; the former was an emanation from the basic religious emotion—love of God—and manifested itself primarily in aid to the needy. This religious duty of helping the needy had been unknown in the pre-Christian world. There, social service was not reduced exclusively to aid to the poor; it had a wider scope—there was the concept of general helpfulness and interest in one's fellow men. Philanthropy was understood in its literal sense—love of humanity. Only later, in the Christian world, did it acquire a more limited significance, that of aid to the poor. Both in Greece and in Rome the government as well as private individuals sponsored reforms which were indeed for the common weal and which might be considered as welfare measures, but these were never limited exclusively to the poor. Therefore it is basically wrong to use criteria of Christian social welfare for evaluating social reforms of the pre-Christian era as students have sometimes done. These two phenomena are not identical but only related, born and nurtured as they were in different social and ideological climates. Bolkestein never confuses these two concepts. The chief merit of his work lies in his approach to the subject as a historian of antiquity who seeks to interpret the problem on the basis of a thorough study of political, social, and economic conditions of a certain epoch and does not rely on measuring sticks and stereotyped recipes which are often applied and elaborated on by scholars in their estimate of Christian reforms.

The scope of the Bolkestein study is very broad; it includes Egypt, Israel, Greece, and Rome. The author makes an honest effort to establish how each of these nations understood the welfare idea; and in doing this he tries to draw a line of demarcation between the generally accepted ethical

concepts, morals which are practiced ("gelebte Moral") as opposed to morals which are preached ("geprädigte Moral").

Most complete and stimulating are the chapters which deal with the Greek world, where Bolkestein is more at home than anywhere else. One regrets that the survey of the social policy pursued by the authorities of each nation toward their underprivileged groups is not always complete and illuminating. Thus, for instance, a number of reforms introduced by the pagan Roman emperors are either entirely overlooked or mentioned only very casually. The author's bibliography strikes one as being somewhat erratic and superficial: there are references to works of Anatole France, the scientific value of which is somewhat doubtful, whereas some important relevant studies are not even mentioned. However, we salute the pioneer in Bolkestein who has undertaken to pave a new way for future studies.

University of Nebraska.

MICHAEL GINSBURG.

*The Economics of Ancient Greece.* By H. MICHELL, Professor of Political Economy in McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1940. Pp. 415. \$4.00.)

THE author of this book has carefully, and obviously with great interest, collected and synthesized the data from antiquity dealing with the economic structure of ancient Greek society from the earliest period to the time of Alexander's conquest of the Middle East. With equal care he has used the monographs and books of modern scholarship which are based upon these data. He has, for example, read his Theophrastus with thoroughness, which so few of us do, and knows quite as well Blümner's study of the ancient technologies (*Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern*). His linguistic equipment for the task is certainly very good; and he writes with a feeling for the ancient Greeks which is both affectionate and realistic. As a result of this approach he can accept the fact, which many philhellenic scholars have sought to deny, that Plato's *Republic* is based upon slavery, although the realization of it is "an unpleasant shock" to him (p. 149).

It would have been possible to deal with Greek economic forms by periodizing the history of the free Greek city-states in three or four frames, somewhat as follows: the Homeric age; the era of colonization; a century and a half of transition; and two hundred years of sophisticated development in production and distribution of goods, namely the fifth and fourth centuries. Professor Michell has preferred to follow through topically, from beginning to end of his entire purview, in chapters which discuss separately the changing developments in agricultural production, mineral resources, labor, industry, commerce (two chapters), trade and piracy, money and banking, and city-state finances. Unquestionably this method of treatment

gives architectural form to the entire work and greater simplicity both for understanding and for reference purposes.

One exceptional feature of Professor Michell's survey lies in the technical knowledge which he has acquired both of ancient handicraft methods of production and of contrasting modern machine methods. Notable also is his frequent use of comparison between ancient institutions and organizations and analogous economic forms which have appeared in later historical periods. A good example of this may be seen in his brief differentiation of the medieval craft guilds and the modern trade unions from the ancient Greek associations of shipmasters, woolworkers, and the like (pp. 140-42). The reviewer has found these contrasts instructive and interesting.

In a survey of this kind an author must perforce make many decisions upon points which are debatable because of the incompleteness of the information or its dubious accuracy. On page 3 Professor Michell states that "the Greek [as husbandman] was not a success in Egypt". This, in my judgment, is wrong. Actually the Greek exploiters of Egypt did remarkably well in introducing into the Nile Valley viticulture and olive oil production; and their success endured for several centuries. On page 147 the author deals with the Athenian act of 445 B.C., which struck from the citizen rolls the *nothoi*, that is, the sons of mixed unions of Athenian citizens and non-Athenians. These were not, in any real sense, "metics", as Professor Michell has it, but former citizens who had been disfranchised by vote of the assembly in 451 B.C. Again, contrary to his statement on page 146, metics at Athens actually *could* engage in mining operations. They could not own land; but they, as well as citizens, could and did lease from the state's *regalia* the concession to operate separate mine shafts.

On the subject of slavery (pp. 148-68) the author's views are prejudiced by an antipathy toward that institution which has distorted his picture of the Greek labor situation. He permits himself the use of the word "slave-driver" (p. 150), whereas the Simon Legree type of slave-overseer is, for Greek slavery, as fictional a figure as he is in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Having correctly informed us that state-owned slaves were employed at Athens in several services important to the community, such as police and constabulary duties (pp. 161, 360), and that private slaves were used in a variety of skilled labor functions, such as weaving, Professor Michell suddenly shifts to the irreconcilable statement that "the work of slaves was of a low-grade order" (p. 165).

Despite all differences of opinion—and many of these will arise—this is decidedly a good book. By position and research interests Professor Michell is an economist, working in the modern field. It is this element in a happy combination of equipments which, for the reviewer, has given his book upon Greek economic life its greatest value and solidity. The charm of the work—for it has been distinctly attractive to read—stems from the author's



warm acceptance of the Greeks of antiquity as a distinguished and gifted people.

*Columbia University.*

W. L. WESTERMANN.

*Greek Popular Religion.* By MARTIN P. NILSSON. [Lectures on the History of Religions, sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies, New Series, No. 1.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1940. Pp. xviii, 166. \$2.50.)

Dr. Nilsson's approach to the history of Greek religion is by way of the popular beliefs and customs of the Greek countryside. He has expounded this popular side of religion, which was regarded by the early church and is still regarded by most modern scholars as mere superstition and folklore, on the basis of the cults, the classical writers, and especially archaeological discoveries. He has proved that much of ancient Greek religion originated in the rural districts—the gods, their cults and festivals, etc. He has also shown that many beliefs, such as those in the lesser powers—daemons and heroes—and in the hereafter, while not the highest, have proved the more persistent elements, which, in defiance of Christian teaching, still survive in Greece as a sort of cryptic background to Christianity and in which the peasants still believe without sensing any contradiction. There was little distinction in ancient Greece between folklore and religion.

The scope of the work can be gauged by such chapter headings as the countryside, rural customs and festivals, the house and family, seers and oracles. Perhaps the most interesting chapter is the one on the religion of Eleusis, whose mysteries formed the oldest and the highest manifestation of the popular religion. In a concise exposition the author records the various changes wrought in this cult from its beginnings as an agrarian family festival, which, as archaeology shows, goes back to a Mycenaean origin, to the close of antiquity.

In the chapter on legalism and superstition and Hell the author refutes the generally accepted notion that cultivated Greece was largely free of superstition because so little is said about it by the classical authors. He finds evidences of it even in Athens during her period of greatness. He shows how the Orphic conception, which arose in the sixth century B.C., of regarding the soul as immortal and the body its prison, was a protest against the older idea of the afterlife as pictured in the eleventh book of the *Odyssey*, in which both good and bad are treated alike below, and how out of the protest Hades grew to be a place of punishment and horrible beasts, as we see in Pausanias's description of Polygnotus's painting at Delphi and especially in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes, both of which reflected real beliefs of the people rather than mere mythology. He points out that Dietrich back in 1893, on the basis of the earliest Christian vision of the hereafter contained in the so-called Apocalypse of St. Peter, was right in the belief that

the Christian Hell was a Greek rather than an Oriental creation, as Cumont still in 1922 tried to show, for its background, as shown by its remarkable similarity to the Aristophanic description, is Hellenic.

Dr. Nilsson has given us a delightful picture of rural beliefs and customs which will be of great use to all students of Greek religion. He has shown also how that religion, like every other, depended on human conditions, changing as these changed. He mentions three great changes in its history: the first in the early period, when people began to forsake the countryside for town life; the next when, with the rise of democracy, new forms were accepted to meet new needs; and the last, the long period of doubt ushered in by the Sophists in the "Age of Enlightenment" and ending centuries later only with the victory of Christianity. Throughout Greek history, however, primitive ways of life and thought persisted in the backward countryside, and many of these have survived to our time.

*University of Pennsylvania.*

WALTER WOODBURN HYDE.

*The Athenian Archon List in the Light of Recent Discoveries.* By WILLIAM BELL DINSMOOR, Professor of Archaeology in Columbia University. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1939. Pp. xvi, 274. \$4.50.)

PROFESSOR Dinsmoor's great work on the archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age appeared in 1931. It brought together the evidence and integrated our knowledge regarding one of the most involved problems of ancient chronology as it appeared before the commencement of excavations in the Athenian agora. The new inscriptions found in these excavations, further publication of the inscriptions of Delos, and recent studies of the history of Delphi have added an impressive amount of new evidence since that time. Sixteen new names, formerly missing pieces of the giant jigsaw puzzle, have been added to the 164 archons already known for the third and second centuries before Christ. Since we know also some letters or the spacing of the names of eleven others, only nine pieces still remain completely undiscovered. Other names, like the Kydenor to whom Professor Dinsmoor dedicates his new work, have appeared in new connections to compel a reorganization of the lists. "The puzzle of the archons", remarks Professor Dinsmoor, "has become almost a popular pastime." In his new volume he lists almost one hundred titles of studies bearing on this problem which have been published since 1931 and has himself just added another in the new volume of studies in honor of Professor Ferguson. He has not simply revised and supplemented his former work in the light of these studies and discoveries but has reconsidered the list of archons in detail, using all the evidence, inclusive of much still unpublished from the agora, and has carefully presented and sifted the many conflicting views of modern scholars before coming to his own conclusions.

The introduction begins with a useful chronological table, then gives

special attention to the way in which the new evidence has confirmed, against Kolbe's stand, the essential correctness of Ferguson's theory of tribal cycles as revealed by the demotics of the secretaries. The tribes revealed by the new inscriptions differ "in not a single vital instance" from the tribes tentatively associated with particular archons by Ferguson's theory, and argument can arise only regarding the location and number of the few interruptions that are still indicated. Dinsmoor differs from Ferguson in his reluctance to use "sortition cycles" and the "privilege of Aiantis". Recent studies of inscriptional style and arrangement of formulae as criteria of dating are fully taken into account. Of the subsequent chapters five deal with the archons of the third century: Peithidemus and the archons before 262; Polyeuktos and Diomedon: the cycles at the middle of the third century; Diomedon and the priests of Asklepios; Polyeuktos and the Soteria at Delphi; the archons after 262, a year-by-year review. The second century archons receive similar treatment in the following chapter. The final chapter of notes on the Athenian calendar is frankly supplementary to the full discussion in the earlier work.

Not everything will be fully accepted, especially as the evidence for dating is so scattered and has so many gaps (witness the recent study of the chronology of Hellenistic Athens by Pritchett and Meritt), and one can question whether the author has not assumed, in his application of his theory of astronomical orientation, that the Athenians were more exact and systematic in their attitude to their calendar than they really were. He has, however, reintegrated the problem, brought the controversial points into sharper relief, and narrowed the field of controversy very considerably. Historians can be thankful for this as well as for the learning and ingenuity of the volume and the many errors that are corrected in passing. The book-making is excellent, though perhaps some further proofreading might have been profitable. For example, "exercise" stands for "excise" on page 100, line 20, and on page 209, 452 should be 542.

*Bryn Mawr College.*

T. R. S. BROUGHTON.

*L'impero romano*. By ARTURO SOLARI. Volume I, *Unità e universalità di Augusto*. (Genoa, etc.: Società Anonima Editrice Dante Alighieri, Albrighi, Segati e C. 1940. Pp. xi, 182. Maps x. 30 l.)

THIS is straight political history. The subtitle, accurate in designating the period, is gratuitous in that the thesis implied in its terms is not actually developed. Far from elaborating a central idea or group of ideas, *L'impero romano* merely outlines the more significant data of the career of Augustus. However, if it is intended as a manual, it is too concise, inclusive, and betimes argumentative to profit anyone not equipped with a previous knowledge of Augustan history. No reader is likely to plow through its heavy pages unless he is sustained by a strong will and driven on by a

sense of duty. A foreign reader especially must know his Italian extremely well to make progress without sweating. This reviewer, although he has some claim to an understanding of both the subject and the language, has not been able to read any three consecutive paragraphs with any feeling of pleasure.

One hundred fourteen pages of text are divided into five chapters, namely (to translate the captions), "The Succession of Caesar" down to the battles of Mutina, "The Constituent" to the battle of Actium, "Imperial Expansion", "The Constitution", and "The Problem of the Succession". Ten good maps illustrate the wars of Augustus with Antony, the senate, Sextus Pompey, Cleopatra, and the barbarians.

One does not expect discoveries of new facts in a manual, nor are there any in this book, though original views on minor details are not lacking. Solari utilizes to the fullest the newer interpretation of the origin and character of the principate that has developed in Italy and more recently in Germany. No honest historian will reject a priori this reappraisal of Roman imperial history. Some of it may very well be valid. Levi, for instance (*Ottaviano capoparte*, Florence, 1933), and Premierstein (*Vom Werden und Wesen des Prinzipats*, Munich, 1937) have compelled scholars to think of Octavian's leadership in new terms, while Syme (*The Roman Revolution*, Oxford, 1939), steeped in a different constitutional tradition, has accepted some of their assumptions but only in order to throw more discredit on Augustus and his followers. How much, if any, of this reevaluation from the Continent will stand the test of time it is too early to judge.

The text is supported with abundant notes, a minimum of fifty-two for chapter v to a maximum of 114 for chapter II. They make it all too clear that the author has approached his subject from a narrow angle, for modern works are referred to rarely and works in non-Italian languages still more rarely. The almost complete neglect of epigraphical evidence, except for the *Res Gestae*, is inexcusable. In the chapter on the constitution, where he deals with such subjects as colonies, agrarian policy, finances, army reforms, public works, and imperial generosity toward the provinces, none of which can adequately be covered without an intensive study of epigraphy, Solari mentions but four inscriptions, excluding the *Res Gestae*. This work, then, is founded almost entirely on the literary sources and Augustus's own account. Horace is woven skillfully into the text pattern. For one good feature praise is due both to author and publisher: the literary sources are quoted *in extenso*. Would that American publishers were as generous in this respect!

Smith College.

VINCENT M. SCRAMUZZA.

## MEDIEVAL HISTORY

*Boethius: Some Aspects of his Times and Work.* By HELEN M. BARRETT.  
(Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1940.  
Pp. ix, 179. \$1.75.)

THE noble aim of this little volume, written as it was for the general reader, is to "rescue Boethius from being generally forgotten", to which task the author brings the qualifications of enthusiasm for her subject, a clear and attractive style, an adequate grasp of the sources used, and a talent for summarizing. Her sins are of omission rather than commission. The main problems are lucidly surveyed, and enough references are given to enable those who wish to pursue the subject further to do so. No knowledge of background is assumed, and much space is devoted to supplying this wherever necessary. An index and a short bibliography are provided. The defects of the latter are also the defects of the book. Omitted are such indispensable works as Dom M. Cappelain's article in the *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, P. Courcelle's "Boèce et l'école d'Alexandrie" (*Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire, École française de Rome*, LII, 1935), Fr. V. Schurr's *Die Trinitätslehre des Boethius*, and C. H. Coster's *Iudicium Quinquevirale*.

After two chapters on the history of the period the philosopher's early life and scholarly labors are disposed of in ten pages. The following portion on his downfall is somewhat dated, as is any treatment of this subject which ignores Coster's work. The theory of Boethius's condemnation by the consistory is no longer held, nor can one ignore Coster's rearrangement of the *Anonymus Valesii* to place the beginning of Pope John's mission before Boethius's fall, his later dating of that fall, and his conclusion that the philosopher was technically guilty.

The section on the *Consolatio*, which rightly occupies the major portion of the volume, is well handled, though in treating the sources some account should have been taken of Courcelle's argument that much of the material in the later books comes through Ammonius's commentaries. A separate chapter is given to the distinction between time and eternity drawn in Book V, and its importance for later thought is stressed.

The treatment accorded the *Opuscula sacra* is less satisfactory, and their importance in the history of theology is insufficiently emphasized. The implication (p. 39) that they did not become part of the educational system of the Middle Ages is refuted by the fact that they were so often included in collections of material on the trivium for school use. The author is obviously not interested in them, and one feels that, but for the evidence of the *Anecdota Holderi*, she would gladly reject them all as she does Tractate IV. Fr. Schurr's proof that Tractates I and II are connected with the first stage of the Theopaschite controversy (519-21) and his demonstration that II is prior to I are alike unknown to her.

The penultimate chapter discusses the recurrent problem of Boethius's choice of philosophy rather than religion for the consolation of his last days. None of the former solutions satisfies Miss Barrett. Her own, tentatively offered, does not sufficiently stress the fact that, whatever its methods, the results of the *Consolatio* are concordant with Christianity. Her difficulties appear to arise from an assumption that the exclusion of revelation from this work of reason implies an opposition, not merely a distinction, between *fides* and *ratio*. The conclusion, after touching on one or two minor questions, points out the especial relevance of the *Consolatio* for troubled ages such as our own.

The only typographical error noted is "Gunobad" for "Gundobad" (p. 36), the only misquotation, *rationalis* for *rationabilis* (p. 152) in the famous definition of person.

Cambridge, Massachusetts.

R. B. PEGRAM.

*Mediaeval Studies*. Volume II. (New York: Published for the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies by Sheed and Ward. 1940. Pp. 257. \$5.00.)

THE scholarly distinction which characterized the first issue of this young journal is again evident throughout this second volume. The scholastic interests of the Pontifical Institute are apparent in the titles of many of the articles, yet the whole reflects a catholicity of taste that makes the work interesting for all students of medieval civilization. The editing has been done with care, and the format is in keeping with the enduring value of the contents of the book. Once again, however, this reviewer must regret the use of such small type. This doubtless saves costs, but it makes reading unnecessarily fatiguing and adds difficulties where everything should have been done to attract the close attention which each of the articles demands.

T. P. McLaughlin concludes his important study of "The Teaching of the Canonists on Usury" with a discussion of the penalties for the crime of usury and the manner in which it was proved and the penalties applied. Students of economic history, as well as those more concerned with legal practices and ideas, will find here much to interest them. As would be suspected, evidence of the growing consciousness of the differences between secular and ecclesiastical attitudes and spheres of interest appears in many of the facts the author has culled from wide reading in the sources. J. T. Muckle has edited from five manuscripts the treatise *De anima* of Dominicus Gundissalinus. Étienne Gilson has written an important introduction to this contribution in which he discusses the problem of interpreting Gundissalinus's work. The text published by A. Loewenthal he describes as "incomplete and almost constantly defective" and, in his interpretation, "worthless"; Baeumker's conclusions Gilson considers "incontestable", those of J. Teicher "possible, but questionable"; and he finds it difficult to admit the interpretation of P. R. De Vaux, who discovers so much "aviccennisme" where

Gilson claims "there is so much of St. Augustine". G. B. Flahiff's "Ralph Niger: An Introduction to his Life and Works" collects about all that is known of this twelfth century figure who was a familiar of many men surrounding Henry II and who knew those prominent in the Parisian schools of his time. His writings, dealing primarily with scripture and theology, were not too well known even by his contemporaries. It is difficult to discern exactly how much he knew about languages, but he seems to have had more than a passing interest in Hebrew. Flahiff is editing his *De re militari*, a tract of importance for the military historian and for those interested in the crusades.

"The Origin and Significance of the Byzantine Iconoclastic Controversy", by Gerhart B. Ladner, should attract many readers. It is a closely reasoned, compact discussion of a highly controversial subject. It will interest the medievalist in general but is especially suggestive for the historian of art and for the student of political theories. The author fails to find the iconoclastic emperors the rationalists others have pictured them to be. In iconoclasm he sees from the very beginning "an attack on the visible representation of the *civitas Dei* on the earth". Admitting that there might have been something of the puritanism others have found in iconoclasm, Ladner insists that such a puritanism is not entirely compatible with the extraordinary advances that were made at the time in profane art in Byzantine circles. Otto Bird edits in the original Latin and writes the first part of a historical analysis of Dino del Garbo's *Commentary* on Guido Cavalcanti's *Canzone d'amore* ["Donna mi priega"]. He gives an English translation of Guido's verse "which insofar as it is possible, is the one Dino would make if he were speaking English". V. L. Kennedy's "The Franciscan *Ordo Missae* in the Thirteenth Century" presents, with pertinent textual citations, evidence of the great influence of the Franciscan *Ordo* on what became the definite Roman missal "imposed on the Latin church by Pius V in 1570". An instance of fundamental disagreement between St. Thomas and St. Albert is considered, in appropriate scholastic fashion, by William Gorman in his "Albertus Magnus on Aristotle's Second Definition of the Soul". In "An English Pilgrim-Diary of the Year 990" Francis P. Magoun, jr., supplements and completes his identification of sites and places (here especially the *submansiones*) recorded by the writer who had apparently accompanied Archbishop Sigeric of Canterbury to Rome. Magoun's earlier article is found in the *Harvard Theological Review* for October, 1940. "A Technical Construction in Old English: Translation Loans in *-lic*", by L. K. Shook, is a short, highly specialized study in linguistics. Through a rigid analysis of Ælfric's *Latin Grammar* Shook concludes that there appears to be a close affinity between present participle *+lic* adjectives and Latin adjectives in *-ivus*.

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GRAY C. BOYCE.



*Church, State, and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest.*

By GERD TELLENBACH, Professor in the University of Giessen. Translated by R. F. BENNETT, Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge. [Studies in Mediaeval History, edited by Geoffrey Barraclough.] (Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1940. Pp. xxiv, 196. 12s. 6d.)

THE essays in the second volume of the series edited by Geoffrey Barraclough were largely by seasoned German historians (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLV, 110-14). This third volume is a translation of Tellenbach's *Libertas: Kirche und Weltordnung im Zeitalter des Investiturstreites* (Stuttgart, 1936, *Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte*, Vol. VII). As the original preface has been omitted, one should add here that this was the *Habilitationsschrift* of a gifted young scholar, completed when he was twenty-nine.

This monograph is not a narrative or a detailed discussion of the investiture contest but an attempt to formulate the philosophy, the *Weltanschauung*, back of the Gregorian policies which began a revolution in the eleventh century. Its starting point is the frequent cry of the Gregorian party for the restoration of the "liberty of the church" (*libertas ecclesiae*). This was demanded in the name of justice as part of the correct world order. The medieval concept of "liberty" or freedom was always relative. The world was thought of as one whole, within which there were as many varying liberties as separate rights and duties of persons in society, all ordained by God. To get one's "liberty" was to receive one's just and fixed place in the social order. The cry for the liberty of the church was therefore not for a position apart from the world but for a larger place and fuller activity within it. In effect this demand under Gregory VII encroached on actual supremacy: the freedom of the church involved the subjection of everything else.

The idea of a Christian hierarchy was universal, but historically Tellenbach distinguishes three different conceptions of it: (1) the monastic-ascetic, which ranked men according to the measure of their flight from the world; (2) the monarchical-theocratic, which assigned a religious mission to the rulers as servants of God; and (3) the priestly-sacramental, which laid emphasis upon the clergy who administered the divine sacraments. The first view predominated in the earlier centuries, when the church fought shy of involvement in the world. As centuries passed, the Western world was Christianized, in part by the lay rulers. The practice arose of local churches owned by a proprietor (*Eigenkirchen*). This realization of the monarchical-theocratic ideal of Christian society was accepted by the monks, who continued to flee the world, and even by the secular clergy. Royal theocracy continued unchallenged until the eleventh century; Henry III with his reforms represented its climax.

The third, or priestly-sacramental view of a world order, long latent, made its effective appearance quite suddenly. The revolutionary principle

expressed in the book of Cardinal Humbert of Silva Candida against simony (1058) was worked into the sixth canon of the Roman synod of 1059 and excluded the laity from papal elections. The Gregorian view, with its rejection of lay interference in church government, soon enjoyed a great success. The explanation, according to Tellenbach, is that the Western world had become so completely Christianized that the church could enter upon world dominion. Power lay within the papacy's grasp; Gregory VII was the energetic man first to seize it. Despite its novelty his movement derived its force from deep-rooted religious faiths and rested upon tradition. It was prepared indirectly by the emphasis the monastic reforms had put upon righteous living. Paradoxically, the very success of the royal theocracy and of the *Eigenkirchen* had laid the foundation for their own abolition.

Tellenbach's ingenious book goes far to explain the Gregorian program. It does not justify it or deal with the unfortunate destructive results in the social order and especially in German political life. It affords one other avenue of approach, another vista of a complex and many-sided historical period.

Mr. Bennett has provided a readable, if sometimes free, translation of the full text of the monograph and written an introduction of his own. Since he was translating for students not familiar with German, he retained only part of the copious footnotes and references and five of the seventeen critical appendixes. Scholars who would do full justice to Tellenbach must resort to the original. The presswork is excellent, but it is regrettable that the printer put the name of the translator, and not that of the author, upon the spine of the book.

*University of California.*

BERNARD J. HOLM.

*The Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux.* Edited for the Royal Historical Society by FRANK BARLOW. [Camden Third Series, Volume LXI.] (London: Royal Historical Society. 1939. Pp. xc, 236.)

ARNULF, bishop of Lisieux, collected and edited some of these letters himself; others were added later, at the end of the twelfth century. Mr. Barlow in a full and excellent introduction shows that Arnulf in his early life, unfortunately not represented in the letters, was closely connected with Chartres. He achieved a reputation as a writer and was intent upon making Lisieux a literary center. Mr. Barlow distinguishes three types of letters: diplomatic correspondence, administrative correspondence, and reports to the pope upon cases in which Arnulf had been a judge-delegate. The letters are presented in chronological order and range in date from 1144 to 1181.

These are extremely interesting years to the historian, and Arnulf's role as a builder, literary man, crusader, administrator, and politician placed him near the center of affairs during this period. He once wrote to the pope that at the beginning of his episcopate he had sought to combine sanctity

and worldly magnificence but that the world had failed him. Mr. Barlow shrewdly observes: "To him the full man enjoyed the spoils of both worlds, and such ambition was to be expected in a man whose relatives had been both bishops and royal officials" (pp. xxiv-xxv).

Certainly Arnulf did not fail to get his share of the spoils of this world, although his taste for magnificent building kept him perpetually in debt. Ambitious for power, he seems to have enjoyed himself most as a friend and adviser of Henry II of England. Always shifty and opportunistic, Arnulf tried to keep in the good graces of Thomas Becket's party and of Henry II. In the bitterness of the struggle such a course was beyond the abilities of even this skilled politician. Henry finally suspected him of disloyalty and of conniving with the king's rebellious sons. In spite of expert evasions Arnulf was deprived of his bishopric and retired to St. Victor in Paris, where he had taken the precaution of having lodgings built for himself. Here he died shortly after his retirement.

Although Arnulf was much concerned with the magnificence of this world, he was at the same time an ardent partisan of reform. His letters give us some new and picturesque details of life in a corrupt monastery. He describes one unsavory group of monks who discovered that the wine in the local inn was better than their own, whereupon they all moved into the tavern. Brawls, murder, and an unsuccessful attempt at a miraculous cure are other episodes described by Arnulf.

Mr. Barlow has edited these valuable letters with great care and thoroughness. We are much indebted to him for an admirable edition which enriches our knowledge of several aspects of the intellectual, political, and religious life of the twelfth century.

*University of Michigan.*

PALMER A. THROOP.

*The Writings of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, 1235-1253.* By S. HARRISON THOMSON, Professor of Medieval History, University of Colorado. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1940. Pp. xv, 302. \$5.50.)

ROBERT Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, 1235-53, was probably the outstanding intellect of medieval England, influencing not only orthodox leaders in scholasticism but even such unconventional figures as Roger Bacon and John Wyclif. Interest in Wyclif led Professor Thomson to Grosseteste's voluminous work, which was in a state of confusion that cried for reduction to order. The author's task was thus not only timely but heroic, involving, as he remarks with well-justified pride, visiting about 140 libraries and examining over 2,500 manuscripts. His index of manuscripts is a kind of trail blazed for those who seek information about the location of manuscripts of other writers of similar age and interests. The fairly routine matter of listing *incipits*, *explicits*, editions, and manuscripts was a sizable job of

expensive typography. The appearance of such a well-printed volume in wartime is a remarkable achievement on the part of the Cambridge University Press.

The problem of establishing authorship was the main problem; the *dubia* in Thomson's list number ten, the *spuria*, sixty-five. He relies heavily upon "priority of manuscript ascription", which in turn depends largely upon his assignment of dates of script in the manuscripts. It is certainly satisfactory to have the views of a paleographer of his ability upon the dates of Grosseteste's manuscripts. To one who desires to use an unpublished treatise probably any early manuscript would be sufficient, but some information about the filiation of versions would have been helpful. The colophons, marginal notes, and other ascriptions evidencing authorship are given in many instances: one's wish for more of them is tempered by the knowledge of their expense. Professor Thomson makes good use of the "principal manuscript collections of Grosseteste's works" in questions of authorship, but his treatment fails to leave a clear impression of the course of medieval academic and bibliographical tradition of Grosseteste's work.

The authenticated bibliography reveals the immensity and variety of Grosseteste's interests and explains the extent of his influence. It includes fourteen translations from the Greek (curiously enough, the product of his later years), seventeen commentaries mostly upon biblical and philosophical works, forty-four philosophical and scientific books, thirty-two pastoral and devotional pieces, and, besides sermons and letters, thirteen others, miscellaneous and Anglo-Norman. Among the last is a humble prayer to Margaret, patron saint of his living at Leicester. His letters date only from about 1229, when he became archdeacon of Leicester and was associated with a former chancery official, Bishop Hugh of Wells, who brought to Lincoln (and probably to Grosseteste) an enthusiasm for archives and records. Other influences will doubtless appear as his works are published and studied—that of Alexander Nequam of Oxford and Roger Infans of Hereford in science, for instance. The highly personal stylist, Gerald of Wales, commented favorably upon Grosseteste's competence in liberal arts, law, and medicine, but he did not influence Grosseteste's writing, which is so extremely impersonal (perhaps following William de Monte) that "there is singularly little of an autobiographical nature" in it.

This impersonal approach has made the determination of the chronology of his work difficult, particularly in his early career. Thomson says of his *De anima* that "it is undoubtedly one of the earliest" treatises, "written at Paris ca. 1208-10". Now Gerald's comment upon Grosseteste is of 1199 or earlier, and Grosseteste probably attested a Lincoln charter of 1186-89. Thomson's theory makes him compose nothing for twenty years and then write more than a hundred treatises besides a mass of other writings in a few more than forty years, during eighteen of which he was the conscien-

tious bishop of the largest diocese in England. The theory may be correct, but the problem requires careful examination. For instance, the great comet mentioned in his work on comets may well have been the one reported by chroniclers as of 1197.

These criticisms have been largely upon secondary problems of Thomson's project. His principal tasks of discovery, classification, assignment of date of writing, examination of authorship, and effective presentation constitute a very substantial achievement and provide a firm foundation for the study of Grosseteste's writings. The American Council of Learned Societies is to be congratulated for making his extended research possible, and the dedication must be pleasing to even so great a scholar as Dr. A. G. Little.

*University of North Carolina.*

JOSIAH C. RUSSELL.

*Financial Relations of the Papacy with England to 1327.* By WILLIAM E. LUNT, Scull Professor of English Constitutional History, Haverford College. [The Mediaeval Academy of America, Publication No. 33, Studies in Anglo-Papal Relations during the Middle Ages, I.] (Cambridge: Mediaeval Academy of America. 1939. Pp. xv, 759. \$6.00.)

THIS volume is the beginning of the final stages in a study which Professor Lunt commenced over thirty years ago; it will be followed by another volume which will carry the discussion of papal finance in England down to the separation from Rome. In the course of his researches he has published a series of essays on special phases of this general subject. In addition he brought out, in 1926, *The Valuation of Norwich*, a large book of documents on the papal levy of 1254, collected by an exhaustive and critical search in public and private repositories in England, with a valuable introduction which is really a treatise on papal taxes in England down through the thirteenth century. In 1934 he issued two volumes of sources in translation on *Papal Revenue in the Middle Ages*, illustrating the various branches of revenue and the financial administration of the church throughout Europe as a whole, likewise with a valuable introduction. Now comes this monumental volume. While it incorporates much of the material he has already made known, the student must for certain details still consult his earlier publications.

The book is based upon an immense mass of widely scattered materials—chronicles, tax rolls, all kinds of English official records, lay and ecclesiastical, some in print, and others still in manuscript—including a great variety of sources in the Vatican archives. The use of official documents of widely varied character has given a tone of cool detachment to the author's discussion of papal policy and administration.

Faced with the problem of presenting the history of taxes diverse in character and levied in different periods, Professor Lunt has wisely chosen

to treat each tax separately, writing a complete account of it from its origins. The method has great advantages. It makes possible a detailed statement of the historical development of each levy so that the final estimate of the source of revenue will not be based upon a few levies, concerning which abundant materials happen to have survived; it brings out nicely the extent to which revenues increased or decreased in frequency and comprehensiveness; and it renders possible the presentation of the way in which each source of revenue evolved in the state of society of the time. Thus the book is a series of independent historical essays: on Peter's Pence; the royal tribute of 1,000 marks; income taxes, either by consent of the clergy or by papal command; miscellaneous levies, viz., donations, legacies, annates, fees of all sorts, indulgences, procurations of papal envoys. There is an important chapter on administration (collectors, depositaries, and bankers). Finally, ten appendixes conveniently list various sources of revenue, the names of all collectors that have survived, with statements concerning their careers, and certain extracts on taxation.

This method makes it possible to follow the author's penetrating analysis of the sources. One may not always agree with his interpretations. He leans to the conclusion that the fourth for Richard's ransom was based on revenues and not on movables, whereas the reviewer is inclined to believe that it was based on both. His opinion that the order of October, 1254 (*Close Rolls, 1253-1254*, p. 318), was for the official of the archbishop of Canterbury to make a new assessment of the tenth, although the original assessment had not begun till July, 1254, and was not finished till the following year, is not convincing. The line of distinction between the subsidy (the aid which was requested and might be refused) and the mandatory levies of the pope seems to be too sharply drawn; for both were subjected to discussion and criticism, and the distinction between them seems to have been mainly one of form. As time went on and the *camera* gained experience, the mandatory levy superseded the subsidy. The form of consent disappeared. One's conclusion, however, on any of these points, as Lunt remarks in another connection, is based on what seems to be a "balance of probabilities".

Although part of the history of some of the topics antedates 1200, most of the development lies between 1200 and 1327, the great age of the expansion of papal revenue in amount and variety. The fundamental cause of the increase lay in the growth of church organization which led to increased control over church and state by the popes. As a result they were drawn into movements like the crusades and political conflicts such as the struggles with the empire. War and political rivalries necessitated additional revenue.

The popes did not usually invent the new forms of income. They might modify what was originally a voluntary offering into a required payment. They might appropriate to their own advantage revenue which had been originally devised by local authorities for a local necessity. Thus, the papal

income taxes, in the reviewer's opinion the most significant part of the book, were developed out of the feudal aid, copied from the laity at first perhaps by the bishops, and then adopted by the popes. The device of an income tax had far-reaching results. The feudal aid from which it was derived could be arranged by negotiation between a papal representative and the members of the clergy. But a levy based on revenues involved a comprehensive inquiry into the incomes of a great variety of property holders on ecclesiastical holdings. There seems to have been some uncertainty at Rome as to the best method to authorize these taxes. Two methods were for a while employed. Either the pope asked for an aid (usually on income) by *grant of the clergy (the subsidy)*, which might be refused, or he commanded them to pay him such an aid (the mandatory income tax). Both kinds of levies were met by hostile criticism, open opposition, and passive resistance, but in the end the papacy succeeded in establishing the right to levy such taxes without consent. Its success was due to the pressure which could be exerted by ecclesiastical penalties, by the control of appointments, and by the assistance of the royal government; perhaps for a time popular sentiment favored such an extension of papal power. Yet clerical opposition to repeated new assessments had its reward; the assessment of 1291 became the conventional schedule of valuations for all later tenths and for certain other dues as well. These repeated taxes on revenue brought in their train, as the author shows in detail, a considerable development of the financial administration of the church, involving a variety of experiments. One of the marked virtues of this volume is the graphic and convincing picture of the formation and operation of this medieval administrative machine, the problems which it faced and often resolved, the importance and activities of its personnel, the devices which they employed to secure complete assessments and collections, for a very high percentage of the taxes were collected. It is a remarkable delineation of certain phases of the life of the period.

Thus this history of papal finance in England shows the extension of papal control over the church, the continuous co-operation with lay authorities, indeed with lay society, and the gradual increase of the royal over the local ecclesiastical organization. The predominant note was, therefore, not the conflict of church and state but control of church by state. We should expect to find the adoption of Italian financial devices in this financial history, but the methods of administration and control bear the hall marks of local origin.

The work of Professor Lunt, of which this is his finest example, together with that of the late James F. Willard, forms the most considerable contribution that has been made to the study of medieval taxation in England. In particular this book is an excellent example of an astonishing variety of materials assembled by indefatigable research and subjected to exact and illuminating historical analysis.

*Yale University.*

SYDNEY K. MITCHELL.



*Histoire du moyen âge*. Tome VI, *L'Europe occidentale de 1270 à 1380*.

Première partie, *De 1270 à 1328*. Par ROBERT FAWTIER, professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux. [*Histoire générale*, publiée sous la direction de Gustave Glotz.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1940. Pp. 460. 60 fr.)

THIS half-volume of the *Histoire générale* finds its locale in the western kingdoms of France, the British Isles, and the Iberian peninsula, its inclusive dates in accidents of Capetian necrology which coincide conveniently with royal obits abroad. The period is here, as elsewhere, conceived as an age of transition. The full implications of the passing of an old order and the quickening of a new are vitiated by two factors beyond the author's control: the plan of the Glotz series, which has relegated to another volume (VIII, by Pirenne, Cohen, and Focillon) analysis of the economic, intellectual, and artistic life of the times; and a regrettable economy which has abbreviated M. Fawtier's excellent description of a society in flux (Bk. I, pp. 5-58). But even within these pages devoted solely to politics there is evidence enough of the liquidation of the golden age of St. Louis—evidence which shows itself in the character and policies of the new rulers, in the unobtrusive encroachment of new centralizing agencies on feudal institutions, and in the violent reactions within the several kingdoms of a feudality no longer strictly functional but loath to be read out of the picture. And if great international struggles are wanting, there are spectacular events—Anagni, Courtrai, Bannockburn, the fall of the Templars, the Sicilian Vespers—which seal past issues or presage those of the coming age.

M. Fawtier has given equal space to a description of political institutions (Bk. II) under the conventional categories (royal power, central and local government, justice and legislation, army and navy, finance, deliberative organs) and to a narrative of political events (Bk. III). The relative importance of the respective monarchies, whether judged by standards of the thirteenth century or of the twentieth, would probably justify his use of France as the focal point for the narrative and his generous allotment of space to its institutions. The scholarly apparatus follows the pattern of the Glotz series, but in general citations are fewer than usual, and the bibliography, though up to date, is scantier. Important lacunae in scholarship are noted. The index will appear in Part II. Many of the proof errors can be ascribed to customary Gallic insouciance before the illogic of English orthography.

Perhaps when the medieval section of the *Histoire générale* is complete, its plan may be compared at length with that of the *Cambridge Medieval History*; merits and weaknesses inherent in each may justify, for future editors' sake, such a colossal review. In favor of M. Fawtier's contribution this reviewer has felt that single authorship has made for greater unity than in comparable sections of Volume VII of the *C.M.H.* and strict adherence to a rigidly determined schema for logical completeness and

easy reference. On the other hand, this adherence has led to overformalization of a textbook sort and too often leaves to the reader comparisons that suggest themselves in parallel developments within the several realms (*cf.*, *e.g.*, his treatment of estates, pp. 233-59, with McIlwain's in *C.M.H.*, VII, chap. xxiii). But for what it purports to be, a reliable synthesis of current scholarship, this is a useful book, more valuable for American readers in the Continental than in the English sections.

University of Chicago.

JAMES LEA CATE.

*The English Government at Work, 1327-1336.* Edited by JAMES F. WILLARD and WILLIAM A. MORRIS. Volume I, *Central and Prerogative Administration*. [The Mediaeval Academy of America, Publication No. 37.] (Cambridge: Mediaeval Academy of America. 1940. Pp. xx, 467. Maps v. \$5.00.)

WHEN Professor Tout read the short study of the English small seals (1908) by the French scholar Déprez, an important chapter in English historiography was predestined. He felt that he must understand the administrative and political significance of those seals. This resulted in the first part of the famous *Chapters*. But the small seals led to wardrobe and chamber, and these in turn to the later history of exchequer and chancery, the civil service, and all the Stubbs-neglected administrative history of the later Middle Ages. In the enthusiasm for his new field he attracted a surprising number of workers, who wrote masters' theses and used the largely unused chancery records and related documents; and the method was, he said, "just the patient and plodding working out of apparently unimportant detail"—the thing he believed English medieval history most needed. In this country Professor Willard was already publishing studies on English taxation in this same period. Taxation led to the exchequer; he reviewed Tout's early *Chapters* with zest, believing that the Manchester school for the first time in England gave adequate training for historical research. He was soon in touch with Manchester by publishing an exchequer study through one of its bulletins; and in 1929 he had conceived and by 1931 was directing the well-known co-operative project of which, through the subvention of the Mediaeval Academy, the volume under review is the first-fruits. It is in the Tout field and largely in the Tout tradition, as the personnel of the collaborators shows—several of them his students and most of them indebted to his work. Willard's untimely death delayed the completion of the volume, but Professor Morris's acceptance of a difficult and self-effacing task was determinative of final success. He has fulfilled the duties of director and editor with scholarly accuracy and great fidelity to the original conception, and he has written a comprehensive introduction which interprets the institutional interrelations of the government departments assigned to the selected specialists.

In this volume "seven institutions of central government", viz., parliament, council, chancery, wardrobe and household (the queen's household being given separate treatment), diplomatic intercourse, army and navy, and the forests, have been treated, respectively, by T. F. T. Plucknett, J. F. Baldwin, Bertie Wilkinson, J. H. Johnson, Hilda Johnstone, H. S. Lucas, A. E. Prince, and Nellie Neilson—three now in England, three in the United States, and two in Canada. The second volume will deal with financial administration and the third with the judicial and local. Both of these volumes are in advanced stages of preparation. Some of these studies are valuable because they give us fuller knowledge of great subjects about which we know much; others because they tell of less important sides of government about which we know little. Revolutionary points of view do not appear. Indeed, in the very valuable essay on parliament there is a thoroughly validated approach to older views: the attendance of the commons "in fairly large numbers", their vigorous initiative in legislation (*re-winning the initiative* would seem the right phrase for their seventeenth century achievement), the importance of this early legislation with a softening of the "high court" emphasis, parliamentary statutes six hundred years ago doing "most of the things they are doing today undeterred by fundamental law, and yet without laying claim to sovereignty".

This particular sort of approach, a microscopic study of a decade, is frankly experimental, and the final estimate of it must come after the work's completion. Naturally the decade chosen falls in the general period of both Tout's and Willard's work and where of late such notable work on parliament has been done, and it has seemed that the years between the civil strife under Edward II and the beginning of the Hundred Years' War were suitable as relatively quiet and normal. The preface implies that there has been throughout an attempt to follow Willard's interest in the "actual performance rather than the duties of officials", a distinction not crystal clear. Perhaps Professor Plucknett's statement that the concern is with action rather than theory throws some light. The disclaimer appearing more than once that this is not constitutional history is a hard saying. If not, what is it? Is it meant that long-time generalizations cannot be drawn from a decade? Generalizations *are* drawn, and vast data assembled for further conclusions. As to the sources, a glance at the prefaced list of abbreviations shows the chancery enrollments and the parliament rolls greatly in the lead, and the footnotes reveal the amazing accumulation of post-Tout articles and monographs. Tout is already a classic, and researchers are reaping after. Chronicles are scarcely used; yet there were great chronicles in this period. Is not this overstraining an initial commitment to "actual performance" or "detailed factual research"? The use of chronicles, under the accepted restraints of historical method, enriches any phase of English medieval history.

In the presence of such a book a reviewer stands helpless to convey even a hint of the enormous detail. It is a book by specialists to start other specialists on their way. To cite illustrations within reasonable compass would result in distortion. The few factual errors which have been noted are unimportant. Whatever the age of the contributors, this seems young work undertaken by those expertly trained in research. Each succeeding scholar adds to or corrects the findings in recent articles or monographs—perhaps his own. We sense a group with little formal coherence but mindful and watchful of one another and with a common outlook. There is enthusiasm and freshness of approach; there is insatiable curiosity about every detail in this phase and stage of growth of England's surpassing gift to the world. Undeterred by any fashion of sophistication or sneer at "that noble dream", these scholars *do* tell us more of *how it really was*. This volume and unquestionably the two to follow will be the starting point, the vantage point, for most further work upon the later English constitution. Is not this what Willard conceived and strove for?

University of Minnesota.

A. B. WHITE.

*Muster and Review: A Problem of English Military Administration, 1420-1440.* By RICHARD AGER NEWHALL, William Dwight Whitney Professor of European History, Williams College. [Harvard Historical Monographs.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1940. Pp. xii, 173. \$2.00.)

THE study of military administrative history during the past two decades after the end of the war that was to end war has received comparatively scant attention, tantamount almost to a Cinderella neglect; nowadays, with the world suffering ordeal by battle, the significance of the subject should not be underestimated. During these years Professor Newhall has profitably tilled this barely scratched field, notably in his valuable *English Conquest of Normandy* and in his later researches on the military and financial affairs of the English conquerors in France during the first half of the fifteenth century. His *Muster and Review* is the first crop of these investigations covering the period of the effective military occupation from about 1420 to 1440, when the English military administrative system seriously deteriorated and disintegrated. His main sources were the voluminous files of the English chamber of accounts at Rouen now widely scattered in various archives.

It is now generally recognized that the English armies were principally recruited in the later Middle Ages not under feudal contract but under the contractual system of "indentures". By indenture each captain agreed to serve with a contingent of a stipulated number of men-at-arms and archers for a prescribed period of time under specified conditions of service and remuneration, musters of his retinue being made from time to time

before commissioners appointed by the king. This system of muster and review, involving a supervision of expenditure on wages, etc., lent itself to an increase of state power and central authority so characteristic of this era.

The practical problems of this supervision emerged when in the years 1419-20 the newly appointed officials, the treasurer-general and the seneschal of Normandy, divided the functions of mustering. This involved a broad issue as acute in the twentieth century as in the fifteenth, the conflict of interest between civilian and soldier. The civilian treasurer tended to be more zealous for the moneybags and stricter in the enforcement of indenture obligations under the muster than the military-minded seneschal. Professor Newhall eruditely traces the varied developments in the system of muster control in the course of the following two decades and the complexities and perplexities of muster arrangements. In the early years there was concurrent jurisdiction over mustering on the part of the treasurer-general and the seneschal. But there was increasing civilian control from 1423, when Belknap became treasurer-general and Surreau receiver-general, and markedly after 1425, when the seneschal's office was allowed to lapse. The volume contains a very interesting analysis of the mechanics of treasury supervision and its resulting increase in efficiency of the system of muster and review. The nature of the authority who issued the "commissions of array" or muster and the personnel of those who took the muster are investigated. "These should not be confused with the commissions of array issued in the various English counties when the 'militia' was called out for home defense", Professor Newhall remarks; he might have added that arrayed troops were sometimes used also for foreign offensive campaigns. A section relating to a more rigorous supervision of equipment affords illuminating details on the accoutrements of men-at-arms and archers of the period.

There are interesting side lights on the effects on the system of the French revival led by Jeanne d'Arc. Moreover, the question of loyalty and nationality now became acute, as fortresses and towns were betrayed or surprised; rules were embodied in the indentures restricting the employment of natives of France in the personnel mustered, *e.g.*, not more than half the lances and no archers whatsoever, or else not more than one eighth of the entire retinue. Additional powers were vested in the central administration to increase or diminish the size of garrisons or to regulate special field forces. Professor Newhall describes the growing confusion and complexity in the financial situation complicated by the critical military situation. The efforts of two decades to evolve efficient methods of administering the army based on the century-old indenture system of private contract were breaking down. An index of this was an act of parliament passed late in 1439 which legislated that a soldier mustered and paid deserting from his captain's retinue was guilty of a felony. "What had previously been a violation of a contract, an offense against the other party to the agreement,

has come to be recognized as an evasion of public duty and a crime against the king. Such an attitude of mind is a step towards a modern conception of an army." A vast amount of research has been distilled by Professor Newhall in this authoritative study of an important phase of military administrative history. We look forward eagerly to another volume continuing his scholarly investigations into a subject that has withal a timely flavor—there is today another conquest and military occupation of Normandy!

*Queen's University.*

A. E. PRINCE.

*Adversity's Noblemen: The Italian Humanists on Happiness.* By CHARLES EDWARD TRINKAUS, JR., Sarah Lawrence College. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1940. Pp. 172. \$2.00.)

THIS rather cryptically entitled work is a careful study of the views of the Italian humanists, as expressed in their theoretical works on happiness, true nobility, and the dignity of man, regarding man's condition in this world and his chance of achieving happiness this side of the grave. In general it is designed to prove that the humanists, while differing widely in attitude, were on the whole more pessimistic than optimistic about life. The author contends that the "happy humanist" is a modern creation and casts doubt upon all "efforts to find in the attitudes of the humanists any broad characteristics with which to stamp the historical period in which they were active as distinct from the Middle Ages" (p. 144). He does, however, note a contrast between the individualistic or egocentric approach of the humanists to the problems of existence and the more corporate or social attitude of medieval thinkers.

One of the major theses of the study is that the humanists were acutely concerned with the problems of individual happiness "because their mode of life left them peculiarly insecure in situation and feeling" (p. 30). This is a good point and one deserving a fuller sociological treatment than it receives here. Unfortunately Dr. Trinkaus tends to confuse the issue regarding the secular attitude of the humanists by identifying their worldliness too closely with the utilitarian pursuit of wealth, advancement, and security and is inclined to find a rejection of this world in any indication that the humanists did not find their lives entirely happy or perfectly adjusted to contemporary social conditions—a fate common to a large number of modern men of letters. Nevertheless, his examination of the theoretical works of the humanists, which have been too frequently neglected in favor of their more literary productions, serves as a valuable antidote to the exaggerated conception of the humanists' joyous affirmation of life which was common to much post-Burckhardian historiography. Dr. Trinkaus would have made his point more effectively and more gracefully, however, if he were not so obviously antagonistic to both the humanists and the traditional

conceptions of the Renaissance. This antagonism is revealed throughout the book in gratuitously slighting comments on the character and motives of the humanists and in an admitted tendency (see p. 144) to emphasize one side of the picture because of the "false emphasis" upon the other side in earlier histories. The author's statement in the opening paragraph that "it has been widely held that because the humanists were vain and greedy self-seekers they also favored the modern view that the pursuit of personal utility made for happiness" is an example of prejudiced assumption in regard to both the humanists themselves and the historians who hailed them as the happy discoverers of the world and man. Citing Burckhardt as the "classical source of this opinion", Dr. Trinkaus continues: "Influenced profoundly by the teachings of Nietzsche, Burckhardt revealed in his famous work, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, a frank admiration of a time that made personal power, wealth or fame the goal in life" (p. 9; cf. p. 18). Aside from the fact that Burckhardt was somewhat less than profoundly influenced by Nietzsche, who was sixteen years old when the *Civilization of the Renaissance* was published in 1860, this is a quite unnecessary distortion of Burckhardt's whole attitude toward the Renaissance.

New York University.

WALLACE K. FERGUSON.

#### MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

*A Spanish Tudor: The Life of "Bloody Mary".* By H. F. M. PRESCOTT.  
(New York: Columbia University Press. 1940. Pp. xv, 562. \$5.00.)

THIS book is a life of Mary the Catholic. It is not a history of her reign or of England during her reign. It pursues those matters pertinent to Mary's history only so far as it is necessary to disclose her part in them. As such it must be judged, and as such it is a work of great distinction. The facts upon which it is based are facts for the most part already well established. Miss Prescott announces no new discoveries. The sources which she has used are in general the same ones which Mary's previous biographers have had at command. The great merit of the book, apart from the uniform excellence of its style, is its just estimate of a woman in many respects the most pathetic figure of her times and one of the most pathetic among all the English crowned heads.

Mary has suffered much at the hands of her biographers because of their religious bias. She has been portrayed by the Protestants as a monster, by the Catholics as a saint. In fact, of course, she was neither. Not the least remarkable of Miss Prescott's achievements is that at the end we are still uncertain whether she is herself a Catholic or a Protestant. That she is in complete sympathy with her subject is undoubted and is as it should be, but sympathy is not the same thing as approval. At times, it must be confessed, her sympathies get the better of her judgment. She will not quite allow Mary's respon-



sibility for the Protestant persecutions and is inclined to lay a heavier burden of blame on Philip and his father than the known facts admit. So, too, she is disposed to attribute the persecutions of the Protestants to their rebellious activities rather than to their religious beliefs. This will be a hard matter to prove unless one accepts the sixteenth century view that religious dissent was *ipso facto* rebellion. Certainly not many of the known Protestant martyrs were actively engaged in political rebellion. More than that, Mary herself was notoriously merciful toward rebels and notoriously zealous in matters religious. In this respect, as in so many others, she was the direct opposite of her half-sister Elizabeth.

And yet Miss Prescott is probably right in maintaining that the unpopularity of Mary was not due to her zeal for the faith but to her devotion to her Spanish husband and his Spanish interests. She came as near as she dared to come to selling out England in her efforts to win the affection of a man who never regarded her as anything more than a political asset. Her faith, and after that her husband, and after that her kingdom—such was the order of her loyalties.

There are a number of questions we should like to ask about Mary which Miss Prescott has not tried to answer. We should like to know more about her relations to Elizabeth and to her two most influential advisers, Stephen Gardiner and William Paget; we should like to know more about her relations to her parliaments, more about her economic and commercial policies, more about the awkward conflicts with Philip II over the English commercial invasion of the Gold Coast. Miss Prescott reveals very little trace in Mary of that preoccupation with the interests of the common man which was one of the outstanding characteristics of Elizabeth.

The records of Mary's reign are relatively scant. A good deal of what we know about her comes from the reports of resident ambassadors, and, as Dr. Harbison has recently pointed out in his able study on the subject (*Resident Ambassadors at the Court of Queen Mary*, Princeton, 1940, pp. 343-55), the printed dispatches of the French ambassadors are far from complete, and those of the Spanish ambassadors are printed only in small part. Miss Prescott did not utilize the originals of the French dispatches preserved at the Bibliothèque nationale, and she was apparently not aware that Baschet's transcripts of them in the English Public Record Office were never finished. Nor did she find an opportunity to examine the material, as yet unpublished, which Mr. and Mrs. Royall Taylor have collected for the Calendar of Spanish Papers and which Dr. Harbison has made good use of. She has apparently made no use at all of the volumes of the Calendar of Patent Rolls for Mary's reign which are in print. She makes no mention in her bibliography or in her footnotes of Professor Pollard's volume in the Political History of England series, which is easily the best account of the constitutional history of Mary's reign in print. Even so, this biography sup-

plants all earlier biographies of Mary and deserves an honorable place among those all too rare historical studies which combine careful research with acute interpretation and analysis, sympathetic understanding with dispassionate judgment, presented in a style of writing which at its worst is good and at its best is brilliant. The scholar will appreciate this book, the lay reader will revel in it.

*University of Pennsylvania.*

CONYERS READ.

*Unpathed Waters: Studies in the Influence of the Voyagers on Elizabethan Literature.* By ROBERT RALSTON CAWLEY. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1940. Pp. viii, 285. \$3.75.)

THE title of this book is from *The Winter's Tale* (IV, iv, 578): "To unpath'd waters, undream'd shores." Both parts of the verse are needed to suggest the field covered by the book, which treats of the literary influence of exploration both by land and water. Indeed it is made to include all that part of ancient geographic lore which lingered on in men's minds throughout the Renaissance. How long the strange beasts and stranger men of Pliny, Solinus, Isidore, and the rest were in losing popular credence a modern man can hardly realize. How dense the ignorance (even learned ignorance), how slow the interpretation of new information and misinformation, are equally difficult to understand. The belief in a cosmological system of balance and compensation, supported by respected authority, was firmly intrenched. Information and erroneous theory are complementary, and much experience of fact is necessary in order to enable men to accept and interpret genuine discovery. The new and the old jostled elbows during the Renaissance (and long afterwards), and the subject treated in Professor Cawley's book is vast.

For a subject so vast and so complicated the age itself provided no organization except *The Advancement of Learning*, which was late and imperfect but held in wide suspense geographical knowledge and related knowledges. The consequence is that the matters considered in *Unpathed Waters* are to be found mainly in casual allusions and scattered bits. The author must have turned over many books and have gradually accumulated a mass of somewhat heterogeneous material. We have occasion to admire his organization of the subject matter of his book. His chapters deal with the heritage of the Middle Ages, which includes studies of the traces left in literature of belief in the existence of the Fortunate Islands, Floating Islands, the Terrestrial Paradise, Ophir and Ultima Thule, the Lost Atlantis, and other legends and traditions. Then come studies of maps, the spirit of the voyagers, seamen and the sea, and finally a chapter on a somewhat different basis from the rest of the book—on characteristic uses of the voyagers by Greene, Dekker, Beaumont and Fletcher, Heywood, Shakespeare, Bacon, and Davenant.

The organization is effective, especially since it is the writer's purpose to present not catalogues of references but a series of connected accounts which will illuminate the literature of the English Renaissance. He would do this by showing the state of knowledge, belief, opinion, and sentiment prevailing in the age. It is doubtful if any book on such a basis could achieve complete organic unity, for organic unity does not characterize the subject in the age; but this is, nevertheless, a successful and unusually interesting book. The restoration of any background is a difficult matter, and the task before Professor Cawley was, because of the dissemination of the material sources, especially difficult. One thing that strikes the reader is that the period covered is very long, and one naturally asks whether there were not progressive developments within it. Many such are noted, as, for example, the increased knowledge and definiteness of Cowley and Davenant in comparison with the earlier writers; but one misses a possibly unachievable scheme of how the ancient knowledge of earth and world, which forms the starting point, grew in various chronological phases along with current intellectual movements and philosophies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

*Unpathed Waters* is related in an interesting way to the same author's *The Voyagers and Elizabethan Drama* (Modern Language Association, 1938). The earlier book is a detailed collection and study of references to travel literature found in Elizabethan plays. *Unpathed Waters* includes other authors besides dramatists and attempts an organization and interpretation of the subject as a whole. It has, shall we say, the general learned reader in mind. The book is scholarly and has this scholarly merit, not a minor one, as part of its conservatism. It shows that knowledge of travel and exploration was available in many places, not in one place only, as older scholars and source hunters were too prone to think.

Stanford University.

HARDIN CRAIG.

*John Pym, 1583-1643.* By S. REED BRETT. (London: John Murray. 1940. Pp. xxviii, 308. 10s. 6d.)

*Lucius Cary, Second Viscount Falkland.* By KURT WEBER. [Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1940. Pp. xi, 360. \$3.00.)

It is not reasonable to expect that great men should evoke great biographies. Yet one goes on hoping until hopes are dashed by books like Mr. Brett's biography of John Pym and Mr. Weber's of Lord Falkland. The lives of Pym and Falkland are intricately woven into the fabric of their times. A full understanding of the two men, of their hopes and aspirations, of the part they played in the reign of the first Charles, of what they loved and what they hated, of the reasons why they thought and spoke and acted as they did, would bring with it real insight into the meaning of the crucial years that precede and follow the meeting of the Long Parliament. For a

spark of such understanding we search in vain in the volumes before us. Mr. Brett has advanced our conception of Pym not one step beyond the point where the great Gardiner left it half a century ago; and by some subtle black magic Mr. Weber has transmuted the gentle, sensitive Falkland, whom Clarendon knew and loved, into an intellectual snob and a dull prig. Although we find more facts about Falkland in Weber's work than in Clarendon's, the old chancellor had a sensitivity to the stirring times he lived through that Weber has not even tried to develop.

For Brett it may be said that he accomplishes half the task he set for himself. He incorporates in his book the material on the colonizing activities of Pym and his friends, first fully handled by A. P. Newton. To the other and larger half of his work, the presentation of the new material on Pym made available through the editorial labors of Wallace Notestein and his colleagues, Mr. Brett is not adequate. John Pym was the supreme master of parliamentary tactics in his time, one of the greatest House of Commons men of all times. One cannot understand that mastery of the Lower House which is the key to Pym's greatness merely by chasing his longer speeches through Professor Notestein's beautiful indexes. One must sit with Pym day by day in the House of Commons, breathe its atmosphere with him, try to sense with him the subtle, almost imperceptible, daily shifts in the current of House opinion. One must watch Pym in the years when he was learning his trade in the 1620's and then follow him hour after hour through the sessions of the Short and the Long Parliaments as he manipulates the Commons, timing the introduction of measures with military precision, squeezing the last grain of advantage from the mistakes of his opponents, vigorous in attack, shrewd in retreat, always in control of the situation in moments of crisis. We can so watch Pym now, thanks to Professor Notestein's work, but Brett does not do it. By way of the indexes he just pops into the House once in a while, when Pym is making a big speech, and then ducks out again.

John Pym was a man intrinsically important in the unfolding of English history. Lord Falkland was not. He was an unsuccessful amateur politician, a second-rate theologian, a third-rate poet, a good and noble gentleman. To Clarendon's touching picture of the nobility and goodness of his beloved Falkland what the historian can add is little worth. Yet in an impersonal way Falkland's career is fascinating as a study in failure. He is the nearly ideal representative of lost causes, of hopes that thrived brightly and died in the seventeenth century—Christian humanism in the framework of the medieval Christian cosmology, Christian unity based on harmony in the fundamentals of faith, knightly loyalty to the prince, and moderate royalism on the Elizabethan pattern. To know the reasons for Falkland's noble failure is to know the dynamics of English history in the seventeenth century; but Mr. Weber does not deal in such knowledge. He treats Falkland as a precursor of religious toleration. That the intransigence of Puritan sectaries and

the anticlericalism of Erastian lawyers may have had more to do with the rise of toleration than Falkland's Erasmian irenicism Weber never suggests. Still to trace the irenic movement in England was work worth doing. It was worth doing when Tulloch did it most intelligently over fifty years ago. It was worth doing again when Professor W. K. Jordan did it more thoroughly five years ago. We now have from Mr. Weber a third account of the irenic movement somewhat deficient in the qualities that distinguished the labors of his predecessors.

Some of the merits of Mr. Weber's book may perhaps be obscured by his method, which is quaint and to dry-as-dust historians might be a little confusing. We find the quintessence of this method in the long chapter on "The Lord of Burford and Tew". Almost one third of the book is here devoted to "a fuller portrayal than has yet been accorded to it" of Falkland's circle. The chapter itself is a string of elaborate biographical sketches, containing much data that one ordinarily expects to find in footnotes. The gallery includes every man who visited Falkland at Tew, several men who may have visited Falkland at Tew, and a few who Mr. Weber hopes visited Falkland at Tew. Mr. Weber records the conversations that took place at Tew among the men who were or may have been there and also the conversations that may have taken place there, those that Mr. Weber hopes took place there, those that Mr. Weber hopes did not take place there, and a few that Mr. Weber knows did not take place there. For example:

Thomas Hobbes, who is known to have influenced Cowley, is included by Aubrey in the list of Falkland's acquaintances. . . . Was it the Viscount who so profitably extended the range of Cowley's acquaintances that they included . . . the Malmesbury philosopher? One must remain content to guess. It may be that Hobbes was an honored guest at Tew itself. . . . If he was, the host must have had to exercise his utmost tact to preserve the harmony of discussion. Men such as Hyde were likely to disagree with him. Fortunately it was probably elsewhere than at Tew that John Selden, coming to the defense of the Christian faith, rated Hobbes out of the room. And, indeed, one need not speculate on the possibility of such collisions at Tew, for apparently they never happened there. What is more to the point is the persistent doubt whether Hobbes was actually a member of the group of the 1630's.

This is such stuff as dreams are made of.

*Queens College.*

J. H. HEXTER.

*The Regimental History of Cromwell's Army.* By Sir CHARLES FIRTH, Formerly Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford, assisted by GODFREY DAVIES, Member of the Research Staff, Huntington Library, California. Two volumes. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1940. Pp. xxxvi, 397; vii, 398-768. \$13.00.)

If Professor Gardiner was the great historian of the Puritan Revolution

and the civil wars, Professor Firth was indubitably the great antiquarian of that eventful period, and these two volumes represent, among other things, the enormous industry, patience, and scholarship which through forty years or more gave him command of the widest and deepest knowledge of details of that period, especially on its military side, ever accumulated by any individual. That knowledge he used for various purposes, the best known of which was probably his invaluable volume on Cromwell's army, which is such a rich storehouse of information in regard not only to that military organization but to the history of the civil wars and to seventeenth century military matters in general. Some of it he used for his contributions to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, some of it for papers in the publications of learned societies, especially the Royal Historical Society. Now, thanks in no small measure to the talents and energy of Mr. Godfrey Davies, long associated with Professor Firth and a military historian in his own right by virtue of his history of the Coldstream Guards and other work, there has been brought together finally in these two volumes what may be called almost an encyclopedic history of the various units of the Cromwellian army.

To one interested in the period of the Puritan Revolution and especially in that part of it concerned with the civil wars there is no work which can compare with this in interest and importance. It is not merely a mine of information about the regiments and the individuals who were connected with them in one capacity or another; it is an absorbing story of an almost infinite number of military episodes in which those units and individuals took part. The mass of information, the infinite details of changes in the constitution and the personnel of the regiments, the brief biographies of literally hundreds of officers, the accumulation of an enormous number of facts from a great variety of sources, not only make it indispensable to anyone concerned with the military history of the period but give it the character of a biographical dictionary of the times.

It is inevitable in detailing the history of one regiment after another that there should be a certain amount of reiteration of essentially the same set of facts seen from different angles. It is equally inevitable that such a work could not be a consistent and coherent narrative throughout. It is probable that the same kind of long and minute research which went into the making of such a book would discover certain inconsistencies or even slight discrepancies, possibly misstatements here and there. But no one who has not gone over the period with some thoroughness himself can appreciate the value and the trustworthiness of such a book as this, which, in a sense, touches the heights of what may be called, for want of a better term, antiquarian history.

*Cambridge, Massachusetts.*

W. C. ABBOTT.

*The Social Ideas of Religious Leaders, 1660-1688.* By RICHARD B. SCHLATTER, Tutor and Instructor in Harvard College. [Oxford Historical Series, Editors, G. N. Clark, C. R. Cruttwell, F. M. Powicke.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1940. Pp. vii, 248. \$3.75.)

THE labors of Max Weber, Ernst Troeltsch, and R. H. Tawney have produced a generation of scholars well aware of the interrelations of religious thought and social developments in the period of the rise of western European capitalism. In her *Social Problems and Policy during the Puritan Revolution, 1640-1660*, Margaret James made a detailed study of these relationships in one important period of English history. Now something like a continuation—though rather more narrowly on the theoretical side—is provided by an American Rhodes Scholar in this Oxford thesis. It is a workmanlike survey of Restoration clerical thought on social problems, arranged under the general headings of the family, property and social classes, and business. In handling each topic Anglican and Nonconformist thinkers are treated together, but where they differed in their viewpoints—not, it may be said, as often or as fundamentally as one might expect in this period—the reader is clearly informed of the fact. Baptist and Quaker theorists are discussed separately in short appendixes.

In general the story is the already familiar one of a conservative medieval theory slowly being changed to make way for the customs of a new age. "By 1660 the doctrine that the children should marry whom the parents chose was giving way to the belief that dutiful children would not marry without their parents' permission." That is to say that the wishes of the children were to be consulted much more than had formerly been the case. In the economic field, where once the theory of the just price prevailed, the market price was being generally accepted as the proper one, except in cases where monopolies were involved. Even the style of reasoning was changing. Scriptural arguments were being supplanted by appeals to the law of nature. The Age of Enlightenment was just around the corner. The author discreetly professes to avoid any effort to deal with matters of cause and effect and declines to answer the question as to whether these changes came first in the minds of the clergy or in their social environment. But he grants that the clergy in the period he treats did less leading than formerly, and it seems clear that in their intellectual progress they were merely following the trend of the times. In many cases, indeed, it appears that they followed it afar off.

The author is similarly shy of imitating Mr. Tawney in passing judgment on the writers whose thought he summarizes. He feels that they cannot be judged by modern standards and that for the age in which they lived they did a fairly good job of giving religious sanction and, in minor details, some religious moderation and modification to a developing system which on the whole was making England prosperous. "A national clergy one of whose practical functions was to inculcate the moral rules necessary for the



very existence of their society", he maintains, "could not be at the same time utopians or revolutionaries." It is to be hoped, however, that by these remarks the author did not mean to exclude the possibility of the clergy's furnishing some of the progressive leadership which any society needs. To accept the role of the Restoration clergy as a satisfactory one for the moral and intellectual leaders of a community would seem to be contenting one's self with rather humble fare.

Michigan State College.

M. M. KNAPPEN.

*Rousseau and Burke: A Study of the Idea of Liberty in Eighteenth-Century Political Thought.* By ANNIE MARION OSBORN. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1940. Pp. xi, 272. \$3.75.)

THE scope of this book is narrower than the subtitle indicates. Its thesis, which is presented in the form of a paradox, is that in spite of his hostility to Rousseau's theories, Burke's own political thought was basically the same. The first chapter describes Burke's attitude toward Rousseau in detail. There follow two superficial chapters on the social and political background of each writer. Miss Osborn is guilty (here and elsewhere) of falling into the Serbonian bog of *nature*, quite overlooking the manifold ambiguities of the term (e.g., pp. 81, 89, 99, 231, and 240-42). On one occasion (pp. 131-32) she quotes a passage (meant to be satiric by its author) from Johnson's *Rasselas* to throw light on Rousseau's use of the term, and on another (pp. 102-103) she attributes to Rousseau Wordsworth's belief that "Nature never did betray the heart that loved her." There is no reference in the bibliography or elsewhere to Professor A. O. Lovejoy's analyses of the meanings of *nature* in his *Documentary History of Primitivism* (Baltimore, 1935), pp. 447-56, and in his article "'Nature' as Aesthetic Norm", *Modern Language Notes*, XLII (1927), 444-50, nor yet to his article, "The Supposed Primitivism of Rousseau's *Discourse on Inequality*", *Modern Philology*, XXI (1923-24), 165-86. There follow two more substantial chapters on the development of the political thought of each writer. Great emphasis is placed on the influence of Montesquieu on Burke, but no mention is made of the similar and possibly more significant influences which Burke encountered in English constitutional theory, the common law, and in Aristotle (especially in the *Ethics*, Book VI).

The next two chapters (VI and VII) analyze the basic political principles of each writer. That on Burke is good. That on Rousseau is perhaps the best statement in English of what Rousseau thought the general will is and how he thought it can be ascertained in practice. Miss Osborn herself admits that the "intangible nature" of the general will made Rousseau's task of exposition difficult (p. 161), and she has succeeded in interpreting his doctrine with sympathetic and imaginative understanding. If the reader persists in believing that Rousseau's use of the concept and term was in part sophistical, the fault will not lie with Miss Osborn.

In the last three chapters the comparison between the two authors is pressed more closely, and the paradox enunciated at the beginning of the book is brought into closer focus. The paradox is not without virtue. Miss Osborn stresses the libertarian elements of Burke's thought (so often overlooked by modern liberals), and she points out that both writers were opposed to the theory of natural rights. But she tends to make the paradox stick by finding their similarity in the ultimate abstractions they use: *e.g.*, both are in favor of the general welfare and of liberty, both believe in God and a moral order. On the other hand, she tends to underestimate the significance of their differences, although she is well aware of them and describes them adequately (*passim* and especially pp. 241-48).

The comparison is the basis not only of exposition but also of judgments. These are mostly in favor of Rousseau, largely as a result of special pleading. Still, Miss Osborn is to be complimented; she betrays her attitude only in scattered judgments, and while these may irritate some readers, they do not impair the soundness of her analysis.

University of Michigan.

HENRY V. S. OGDEN.

*British Imperialism and Australia, 1783-1833: An Economic History of Australasia.* By BRIAN FITZPATRICK. With an Introduction by the Honourable Herbert Vere Evatt. (London: George Allen and Unwin. 1939. Pp. 396. 18s.)

STUDENTS of Australian history very soon discover that numerous aspects of the field are as yet unexplored. Monographs dealing with early imperial relations are particularly welcome since such studies tend to clarify many of the puzzling and contradictory features which characterize the early history of New South Wales. Mr. Fitzpatrick's *British Imperialism and Australia* is a contribution of this kind.

This heavily documented volume describes the early economic history of Australia with special reference to imperial policy, or lack of it, as it affected the developing character of the infant colony. The author argues that from 1783 to the 1820's a harassed imperial government, whenever it thought of the colony, planned with considerable consistency "to maintain a prison and plant a peasantry" there. But local developments and dynamics, such as the early military rule of a clique of army officers, the fluctuating number of convicts, and the later discovery of the pastoral possibilities of the country, together with changing conditions in England, altered the plans of the "Imperial architects" and compelled them to modify their policy. He further asserts that by the early 1830's it was becoming clear that capital export, the chartering of great enterprises for colonial development, and assisted emigration constituted the most profitable form English interest could take and furnished assistance acceptable generally to the increasingly powerful local pastoral interests. Thereupon, ever lagging imperial policy

responded somewhat to these stimuli and attempted to adapt itself to the changing character of the colony. The author points out that in addition to the formulas issued by Whitehall, Australian development was at all times conditioned by events in Great Britain and to some extent by happenings in the Americas.

In developing his thesis Mr. Fitzpatrick has traversed some fairly well-traveled paths. He has described the motives leading to the settlement of New South Wales, the conditions which prevailed in England during and after the Napoleonic wars, the transition in New South Wales from an officers' monopoly to a free economy, and the effects of the importation of British capital on the economic life of the country. And he has added a loosely hung together account of the further colonization of the continent to 1840 or thereabouts. The book contains two tables dealing with pertinent acts of parliament and government orders, several chapter appendixes, and an index.

So far as materials are concerned, nothing new has been used. The usual primary and secondary sources available in Australia have been extensively employed, and the author has leaned rather heavily on the works of English and American authors such as Clapham, Rose, and D. G. Barnes. Apparently he has not had access to the materials in the Public Record Office.

From the standpoint of craftsmanship the volume leaves much to be desired. In style it is undistinguished and at times dull. One feels that many lengthy quotations and several long footnotes could have been abridged with no detriment to the plausibility of the account and with possible benefit to its movement. Although the author has outlined his chapters with headings in textbook fashion, the book as a whole fails to achieve unity.

In spite of evidence of careful and extensive research and considerable critical scholarship, the connection between conditions and events in England and their effect upon Australian development, which constitutes the heart of the argument, is neither definitely nor convincingly demonstrated. The chief merit of the book lies in the fact that the author has given us a not-too-well integrated account of Australia's place in the imperial pattern and has further provided us with tantalizing glimpses of the factors and the dynamics which conditioned the early economic history of that fascinating continent.

*Asheville College.*

MAUD P. LAUGHLIN.

*The East India Company, 1784-1834.* By C. H. PHILIPS, Lecturer in Indian History, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. [Publications of the University of Manchester.] (Manchester: Manchester University Press. 1940. Pp. vii, 374. 20s.)

THIS impressive volume is more valuable than its title indicates. Instead of being another general survey over the full range of East India Company

activities, it is the first detailed study and appraisal of the relations between the court of directors and the board of control during the fifty formative years after Pitt set up this government office to "direct and control" the company's Indian administration. It is based on a close examination of the "extraordinarily voluminous" unpublished records at the India Office as well as of a great deal of other manuscript and printed material, and it fills in many gaps in knowledge and understanding of the functioning of the home government.

It was an extremely intricate system of dual government with checks and balances and interlocking factions and interests. Dr. Philips handles it with skill, clarity, and decision. His vigorous pronouncements on the wisdom and propriety of persons and policies add much interest, although some of his judgments, especially toward the board in the early years, are a little too vigorous. No doubt the difficulties of preparing the manuscript for the press under war conditions interfered with calm and careful checking, but it is a little confusing to be told that Pitt's bill of 1784 was "dishonest", successfully concealing the real intentions from the directors (p. 34), after reading verbatim evidence that they understood the objectives clearly enough (p. 31). It is a record of sharp controversies between board and court, and one wonders—until reassurance is supplied in the last paragraph—how the system survived so long without more underlying bases for agreement. In two instances, which the reviewer was able to check, the author sharpens the personal conflict too much. On the basis of Ellenborough's *Diary*, cited as the source, "childishly resented" seems too strong in the light of the full circumstances connected with the ensuing quotations (p. 265). Certainly he should not say that Ellenborough "retaliated" (*ibid.*) when his source makes it clear that the action was taken nine days earlier. Again, it exaggerates the friction between board and court to quote the *Diary* on the sulkiness of the directors toward the government and attribute this to "Ellenborough's activities" (p. 274) without mentioning that the *Diary* ascribes their attitude to rough treatment they received in a legal case before the privy council.

The painstaking classification of the East Indian "interests" is a very valuable contribution. Dr. Philips throws a great deal of light on the policies pursued by successive ministries toward the company, although sometimes, if other human interests of the East Indians were taken into account, the light would be more diffused. Private traders, for example, could scarcely have had any need or motive, as private traders, for "utilizing their political influence to raise the duties on Indian cotton and silk goods entering Britain" (p. 192) in the war tariff of 1813. The reference cited merely gives a tabular statement of British rates on Indian textiles in various years. Again, Wellington's treatment of the Canningites, and especially the effect of Catholic Emancipation on High Tories such as Inglis, may have counted for as much

as "Ellenborough's activities" at the board of control in estranging East Indian votes from Wellington's ministry.

It is worth noting that Dr. Philips proposes to carry his study back to 1757 and forward to 1858. To have the whole story in full perspective from his pen should be distinctly worth while.

*Tufts College.*

ALBERT H. IMLAH.

*Napoléon et la Lituanie en 1812.* Par BRONIUS DUNDULIS. [Bibliothèque d'histoire contemporaine.] (Paris: Alcan, Presses Universitaires de France. 1940. Pp. 344. 50 fr.)

THIS, the first Lithuanian study of ephemeral Napoleonic Lithuania, avoids in part the national preoccupations manifest in Polish accounts. It throws new light on the aspirations of foreign-dominated Lithuania and supplies new details of the Napoleonic expedition that precipitously collapsed in December, 1812. The Lithuanians had been deceived by the Peace of Tilsit; Napoleon's appearance in Poland as liberator produced a lively effervescence among the Lithuanian serfs. From 1807 to 1811 France and Russia vied for the preponderant influence among the Lithuanian landlords, who themselves were split into pro-French and pro-Russian factions. At one time the Lithuanian Russophile Michel Oginski replaced the pro-Polish Adam Czartoryski as the czar's counselor for Lithuania; but his plans for a grand duchy were shelved in April, 1812, when the czar evinced a remarkable lack of decision for fear of alienating the Poles. Without capitalists, bankers, or important industries, Lithuania calmly awaited rather than precipitated events. An excellent chapter treats of the commission government that Napoleon decreed when in Vilna. With everything subordinated to military necessities, even the French General Hogendorp was unable to co-ordinate the wide area. Lithuania's delicate relations with Poland prevented an effective confederation diet, the directing class holding for autonomy though bound to Poland by a common spirit.

The "Grand Army" is repeatedly pictured as looting Lithuania. A speculative chapter on Napoleon's plans for Lithuania leaves matters indefinite—perhaps inevitably, for the emperor failed to take engagements. Admitting insufficient information on political and social questions, the author relies chiefly on standard published sources—memoirs and contemporary works (especially Oginski and Hogendorp) and modern works such as J. Iwaskiewicz, *Litwa w roku 1812* (1912) and the more important M. Kukiel, *Wojna 1812 roku* (1937, not fully utilized). An appendix contributes interesting pieces from the various archival repositories in Paris. The bibliography is excellent for French and Polish sources.

In the chapters covering military affairs Napoleon's pincer movements to open the natural gateway from Vilna to Moscow, before which the Russians had massed, might have been indicated. The author might have men-

tioned the French emperor's letter of July 1 to Alexander and his disparaging comments in December concerning poor seconding by Lithuania. Better integration would have improved the study, but above all a broader perspective, for Lithuania, like Poland, was always a secondary element in Napoleon's policy. As Driault shows, a restoration of all Poland would have closed the door to negotiation with Russia. Contemporary affairs elsewhere in Eastern Europe might have been included; certainly Turkey should not be ignored. The author's references to "Lithuania" do not always conform to the class distinctions that he so properly draws.

*University of California.*

VERNON J. PURYEAR.

*John Frost: A Study in Chartism.* By DAVID WILLIAMS. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press Board; New York: Oxford University Press. 1939. Pp. viii, 355. \$3.50.)

THE riot at Newport, Wales, in 1839, looms large in all histories of Chartism and even in general histories of the period. Yet, after reading this monograph, one wonders why this should be the case, except that it loomed large in contemporary interest. Many aspects of the event elude even Mr. Williams's exhaustive investigation, yet he proves that the outbreak was poorly planned, more poorly executed, and of small proportions. Approximately five thousand Chartists marched to an inn where thirty soldiers and some special constables were quartered, some shots were fired (which side began firing is not known), and ten or more persons were killed. But at the first volley from the soldiers the Chartists dropped their arms and fled.

The purpose of the outbreak is obscure. Mr. Williams's conclusion is: "Undoubtedly the vast majority of the Chartists did not know what their purpose was, and undoubtedly also, many of the leaders had different objects in mind"; and again, "It is safest to assume that the only common purpose they had was a great demonstration in Newport", possibly preliminary to another appeal to the magistrates for the release from prison of Henry Vincent, a national leader. Certainly the riot was not part of a general insurrectionary plan as held by Dolléans and Rosenblatt and, tentatively, by others.

This biography of John Frost, a leader in Welsh Chartism and the riot, was written in connection with the centenary celebration of the riot in Monmouthshire. Besides describing the ideas and work of this able and high-minded man, the book depicts conditions in Wales responsible for the spread of Chartism—political feudalism, distress in certain local industries, unrest among coal miners, local feuds, French revolutionary ideas of equality, the reactionary attitude of the church and of the upper and middle classes. Technological changes in industry do not seem to have been a factor. Class antagonism was deep; a clergyman declared, "The devil was . . . the first Chartist", for he desired equality with God. The author's detailed ex-

amination of Frost's trial for treason illuminates court procedure and also the social attitudes evoked by the issue.

Highest praise is due Mr. Williams for his scholarship and objectivity. All available sources, manuscript and printed, have been thoroughly and impartially canvassed. The book is a model of historical research and writing.

University of Chicago.

FRANCES E. GILLESPIE.

*Journey to Germany, Autumn, 1858.* By THOMAS CARLYLE. Edited by RICHARD ALBERT EDWARD BROOKS, Assistant Professor of English in Vassar College. With an Introduction, Notes, and Commentaries. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1940. Pp. xxxviii, 222. \$2.75.)

THIS volume is an important token of the revival of critical interest in Thomas Carlyle's historical writings. Professor Brooks has edited the hitherto unavailable manuscript notes made by Carlyle on his journey to Germany in the autumn of 1858. The trip was hurried and purely on business. Carlyle was in the midst of the fifteen-year struggle with *Frederick* and desired to check his ample source materials, particularly details relating to the topography of Frederick's twelve great battlefields. The notes were written in haste, therefore, and probably never intended for publication, but they are characteristically lively and humorous, full of penetrating observations and minute descriptions. The elderly traveler was extraordinarily resourceful and energetic, and the picture he draws of mid-nineteenth century Germany is better than many more pretentious ones.

Professor Brooks has used the *Journey* as a starting point for a scholarly and sympathetic examination of Carlyle's general method in handling historical evidence. In the long introduction and appendixes he makes a considerable contribution to our specific knowledge of Carlyle's critical approach to source materials. Sufficient evidence has now been accumulated to prove beyond doubt that Carlyle's search for facts was as unwearying as it was discriminating. Professor Brooks, like Professor Charles F. Harrold in his similar study of the *French Revolution*, is mainly concerned with demonstrating Carlyle's accuracy and fidelity in his use of sources. First he checked Carlyle's accuracy in the matter of details in the *Journey* and found it satisfactory. Carlyle's observant eye and retentive memory combined to make even insignificant errors the exception. Having established this point, Professor Brooks proceeded to examine Carlyle's sources for Frederick's warring years, checked them against each other, and observed Carlyle's judicious use of them. The general conclusion is that Carlyle was not only remarkably faithful to his sources but showed considerable critical acumen in choosing the soundest of variant accounts.

Efforts to prove Carlyle's fidelity, however successful, go only a little way, of course, toward explaining the real mystery behind his method of



writing history. He referred more than once in his essays to "the secret of being graphic". Seizing the "human fact" and portraying it in such a way as to make it forever "memorable" was his acknowledged aim. But it was the combination of a genuine zeal for facts and an irresistible love for the human and dramatic details which made his ideal of historical writing so vulnerable to the criticisms of the professionally objective historians of the next generation. They were content to dislike him and to measure merely how far he fell short of their standards. Their prejudiced evaluations were undistinguished by any serious attempts to examine his works in the light of his sources and his acknowledged methods.

Even Carlyle's severest critics acknowledge that his graphic accounts of Frederick's and Cromwell's battles have no equals in English historical literature for telling artistry of effect—a fact which only makes heavier the burden of proving his accuracy and integrity. Much work remains to be done in this field—or undone. Professor Brooks has promised a more extensive commentary of this sort on *Frederick*. We look forward to it with interest.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

LOUISE M. YOUNG.

*The Irish Land League Crisis.* By NORMAN DUNBAR PALMER, Assistant Professor of History, Colby College. [Yale Historical Publications, Leonard Woods Labaree, Editor.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1940. Pp. viii, 340. \$3.50.)

IN this book Dr. Palmer sketches the character of the Irish land problem; he analyzes the reasons for the failure of the land act of 1870; he describes the situation during the "bad times", 1879-81; and he discusses the origin, activities, and importance of the famous Land League. The author has examined carefully a wealth of material dealing with the Irish question of the seventies and early eighties. From newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, debates in parliament, official reports, memoirs, biographies, and numerous books information has been culled to light up dark corners and fill gaps in our knowledge of events in those troubled years. The wrongs of Ireland and the evil practices of her landlords are duly emphasized; but Dr. Palmer points out also that relatively few Irish landlords were living outside of Ireland, that many of them treated their tenants humanely, and that English charity played a big role in saving Ireland from famine in the depression years, 1879-80.

The distress of that period provided favorable conditions for attacks upon the land system in Ireland. Landlordism was blamed for all Irish ills; the slogan "land for the people" was adopted by the great mass of the peasantry. In the fight for the realization of this program Ireland became united. Chapter VI, which deals with the origin and character of the Land League, is perhaps the most enlightening part of the book. Crop failures,

1877-79, brought Ireland to the brink of famine; in 1879 Isaac Butt was ousted from the leadership of the Home Rule party; and Charles Stewart Parnell had not yet acquired absolute dominance when Michael Davitt arrived from America with his land program. Under these circumstances was launched the great war on the landlords. Creed and race no longer divided the tenants; the lower clergy of the Roman Catholic Church proved faithful and effective allies; all landlords irrespective of their record were subjected to attacks; and those who had truck with them suffered bitter persecution, and many were murdered. It was "war to the knife". The experience of the hapless Captain Boycott is related with a wealth of details, and so are the activities of defense associations organized by landlords.

Dr. Palmer lays so much stress on the strength of the Land League and on the unpopularity of the 1881 land act that the sudden collapse of the league comes as a surprise. In view of the temper of the Irish it is hard to believe that this powerful organization should have succumbed simply or largely because the government declared it illegal. Either its actual strength has been overestimated, or else the influence of hostile or competing forces have been underrated. Perhaps the peasants were more willing to give the land act of 1881 a fair trial than the leaders of the Land League were disposed to admit; and it is possible that Home Rule made a stronger appeal to Irish sentiment than Dr. Palmer will allow us to believe. Certain it is that when the worst distress was over, the Irish interest in politics became predominant.

Dr. Palmer's assertion (p. 5) that "the Irish peasants were determined to revive their communal rights [in the land]" seems a bit misleading in view of the fact that they were so eager for private ownership. And readers of this very excellent monograph may regret that the author has not used the private papers of Michael Davitt, John Dillon, and other prominent figures in the Irish movement. Perhaps these papers will shed new light upon the important question of the relations between the Land League and the crimes of violence so rampant when the league was at the height of its power.

*University of Wisconsin.*

PAUL KNAPLUND.

*Introduction to the Constitutional History of Modern Greece.* By NICHOLAS KALTCHAS. [Prepared under the Auspices of the Columbia University Council for Research in the Social Sciences.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1940. Pp. xvi, 187. \$2.00.)

THIS is not a complete history of the constitutional development of modern Greece. The expressed purpose of the author is to show how Greek politics have been determined by the exigencies of foreign policy rather than by the correlation and clash of forces within the nation. When, in 1832, a monarchical form of government was adopted and Prince Otto

of Bavaria was accepted as king of Greece, the primary object was to attain respectability and acceptance in the contemporary, militantly monarchical Europe. The overthrow of Otto thirty years later was due largely, not to the popular opposition to his unconstitutional rule, but rather to the fact that, having forfeited the sympathy of the protecting powers, he had become a national liability. Similarly, the popularity of the Glücksburg successors of Otto varied according to the success of their foreign policies. King George was welcomed enthusiastically because he brought with him the Ionian Islands, but the defeat of 1897 produced antidynastic demonstrations. The paramount influence of international factors on the domestic development of Greece was especially apparent in the effects of the first World War. The question of neutrality versus intervention precipitated the bitter Venizelist-royalist feud and led to a series of violent political convulsions until finally the Republic was established in 1924. In other words, the antimonarchist movement originated in conflict over foreign policy and triumphed as a result of military defeat in Asia Minor.

In the preface, written by Lindsay Rogers, this work is described as "brilliant both in matter and manner". The reviewer agrees heartily with this estimate. There are certain obvious defects such as incomplete and incorrect footnotes and a poorly integrated final chapter. But these arise from the author's untimely death, which made it necessary for others to prepare the manuscript for the press. Moreover, the flaws are superficial and do not affect the very real value and importance of the study. Outstanding, especially in view of the author's background, are the beautiful literary style and the consistent impartiality. Notable also is the depth of the work. This is no dry, barren survey of constitutions or of party strife. The varied factors behind constitutional developments are keenly analyzed. This is illustrated in the section on the antecedents of the Greek Revolution and in the treatment and appreciation of the roles played by such individuals as Korais, Rhigas, and Capodistrias. Finally, the comprehensive character of this study serves to reveal the many gaps in the historiography of modern Greece and the opportunities which await future historians.

*Smith College.*

L. S. STAVRIANOS.

*France, 1815 to the Present.* By JOHN B. WOLF, Assistant Professor of History, University of Missouri. [Prentice-Hall Books on History, edited by Carl Wittke.] (New York: Prentice-Hall. 1940. Pp. xi, 565. \$3.00.)

THIS lucid and carefully done account of the life of France since 1815 is intended as a guide for the general reader and an introductory survey for the student of modern European history. Within its limits the study is an adequate one.

The author has grasped the fundamental reasons for the almost constant struggle between reactionary principles and the liberalism of the Revolu-

tion. Nor has he overlooked the existence of a second struggle which went along with the first, that between the many-sided interpretations of liberalism itself made by French statesmen and political thinkers. Professor Wolf's account illustrates so very clearly the words of André Siegfried: "The Frenchman is an individualist. That is the cause of both his grandeur and his weakness."

Considering how often during the Second Republic and the Third Republic individual interpretation has divided and subdivided French opinion, it is remarkable that France continued to grow in power and to maintain her prestige. Until recently a common movement made this possible. The history of France almost until the War of 1914 was the establishment by the bourgeoisie, the landowning peasants, and the intellectuals of a society which gave them wealth, prestige, and power. It was the story of the final triumph of those social groups liberated by the great Revolution and their consolidation in the face of the opposition of traditional conservative parties. The completion of this victory brought a country strong, united in foreign crises, and confident in its heritage of the past. Even its inherent individualism seemed to fit into the picture. Frenchmen were administered from Paris, but they lived and thought, wrote and worked, bought and sold as they wished. Shortly before the last war and rapidly thereafter, however, a change came—the introduction of another factor into the life of the nation. An urban and rural proletariat and a thoroughly class-conscious *petite bourgeoisie* began to demand their rights and their part in the life and ideals of the country. A new conflict confronted France—the liberalism of the nineteenth century and the new democracy of the twentieth. Then the liberalism of the past century became the conservatism of the present time. Could the old-time liberals establish a unity among themselves? For a brief moment it looked as if this had been done, but shortly individual interests and interpretations tore them apart. The compromise that could have been made among them was not made, while the compromise between themselves and their new opponents, if it could have been made, was never reached. It was then that Frenchmen were faced with what Jacques Moreau called, in 1929, "the agonizing question"—Frenchmen were instinctively averse to violent changes, but must these changes come? And there the question has remained. Frenchmen of the Third Republic did not give the answer.

This, in part, is the theme of Professor Wolf's account. He handles it skillfully. He has, however, undertaken to treat a vast subject in a comparatively small compass, and there are places where, in the opinion of the reviewer, the author seems to lack clarity and definition. It is not clear, for example, that in 1830 the July regime was put in by a rump parliament and that there was no consultation of the people. In this same section very little attention is paid to the political importance, almost power, of the National

Guard, a body whose public character was virtually consecrated by a law passed in the early days of the July Monarchy. The treatment of the July Monarchy and its decline is well done, but it is hardly sufficient to remark that the leaders of the dynastic opposition were ardent nationalists opposed to Guizot's lack of backbone. They were also ardent individualists, and one of the reasons for their collapse in February, 1848, was the total lack of a sincere *idée directrice*. In the chapters which treat of the Third Republic before and after the War of 1914 the author fails to take into account the effect of a revived provincialism on political action, and, later on, there is no mention of the dissatisfaction of French labor with Blum's forty-hour-a-week law.

These comments, however, are not intended to obscure the good qualities of this very useful introductory study.

Yale University.

JOHN M. S. ALLISON.

*France under the Third Republic: The Development of Modern France, 1870-1939.* By D. W. BROGAN, Fellow of Peterhouse and Professor of Political Science in the University of Cambridge. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1940. Pp. x, 744. \$5.00.)

ALTHOUGH the Third French Republic has had many chroniclers and a host of interpreters, it has lacked a historian. This volume is not the full-length portrait of the regime for which we have long been waiting, but it is the most complete, scholarly, and effective political history of France since 1870 available in any language today.

After a hurried survey of the Second Empire Professor Brogan plunges into a detailed account of French political life since 1870. For the reader already somewhat familiar with French civilization it is an absorbing story of politics, diplomacy, and war enlivened by bits of obscure information, unexpected allusions, sharply drawn cameo portraits of half-forgotten politicians, and interesting observations upon political problems. Unaffected by the ideological prejudices that so often mar the writings of French scholars, Professor Brogan is able to keep himself above disputes and to maintain an objective point of view that is refreshing to one who has read many biased discussions. The sections dealing with the founding of the Republic, the conquest of power by the republicans, the Panama scandal, the Dreyfus case, and the last six or eight years before the War of 1914-18 are particularly well done. The reader will especially admire the skill with which the ideas of politicians and political theorists are interlaced in the story of the unfolding political development. Obviously Professor Brogan has immersed himself in the literature of the period and has become completely familiar with the inner complexities of French party politics.

It ought to be pointed out that this work is not one to recommend to the completely uninitiated; the reader with little or no knowledge of French life will find that Professor Brogan makes few concessions to his ignorance.

The almost endless procession of names that must necessarily remain just names and the allusions and the asides that testify to the scholarship of the author but often are far from self-explanatory might well bewilder the neophyte long before he reaches the end of this stout volume. The book obviously was written for, and will be most appreciated by, readers already fairly well grounded in French history.

In spite of the fact that the reviewer is well impressed by this volume, it is, in his opinion, open to several criticisms. In the first place, even the American title (the English title is *The Development of Modern France*) is too broad; this is primarily a political history of the Third French Republic. In his preface Professor Brogan excuses himself for neglecting the artistic, scientific, and literary aspects of French society, but he does not explain that he intends to follow the French tradition that practically ignores social and economic forces as well. It is regrettable that he did not follow the model offered by Beard and others, for it is becoming increasingly difficult to justify even an interesting history that does not bring society and economics into the picture with diplomacy, politics, and war. Almost as an afterthought Professor Brogan does offer a brief discussion of French economy, but less than forty out of 729 pages are devoted to the problem, and even then largely in the section dealing with foreign rather than domestic policies. In the discussion of the 1880's, for example, this account almost completely ignores the fact that France went through a serious depression. The reviewer is well aware of the problems of synthesis involved, but he submits that the full-length portrait of the Republic will pay more attention to the economy of France than this volume does. Surprising, also, is Professor Brogan's discussion of the War of 1914-18. The reviewer dislikes being carpingly critical, but he wonders how an English historian could have missed the fact that the United States played a role in the defeat of Germany. Although the book paints the months January to March, 1917, as the darkest hours of the Allies, there is no indication that the intervention of the United States had any effect upon either the morale of the Allies or the materials of war available to continue the struggle. No serious student would support the more extravagant claims made for the intervention of the United States, but the understatement in this volume is a little irritating.

These criticisms should not obscure the fact that this is a book well worth the attention of students of French history. Now that the defeat of 1940 seems to have punctuated the career of the Third French Republic, it is likely that other scholars will attempt to organize the period. Professor Brogan's volume not only will be of considerable service to them in their labors but also will provide a standard by which to measure their success.

This volume is equipped with a satisfactory index, but, for some reason, no bibliography has been appended.

*University of Missouri.*

JOHN B. WOLF.

*The Economic History of Steelmaking, 1867-1939: A Study in Competition.*

By D. L. BURN. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1940. Pp. x, 548. \$6.50.)

THIS judicious, well-documented study of the British steel industry covers ground that has been under discussion for many years. No one has, however, brought to the subject so much information or such sound appraisal of the critical problems of this complex period in the history of steelmaking. Since nearly all the material is derived from printed sources, there is no information that is conspicuously new, but much information is not readily available so that there is a great deal of material that has not been embodied hitherto in any general account. This is notably true of a considerable amount of statistical evidence on wages and costs in Great Britain and in Germany. The critical discussion of the evidence is discriminating, and the conclusions inspire confidence. Wages were higher in England than in Westphalia by a substantial margin in 1888, but at that time there were offsetting differences in productivity. These compensations diminished steadily, so that high wages placed Britain at a competitive disadvantage in a good many lines and regions after 1900.

The vital difficulties of Great Britain, however, lay in the conservatism and empiricism of the managers and technical staffs in the various steel works and in the persistence of relatively small specialized units in a world dominated by large-scale combinations and cartels. These features of the history of the industry are described and discussed in full detail and with unusual discrimination. There is clear evidence that there was no adequate appreciation of the necessity of a continuous effort to adapt the structure and processes of the industry to changes in technique. The importance of the changes actually taking place was generally underestimated, so that we must recognize a profound difference between the British concept of the entrepreneur function and modern theoretical views. Structural features obstructed combination, consolidation, and relocation of plants. Since 1931, and more especially since 1935, systematic reconstruction of the industry has been undertaken. Even these schemes, however, are rather timid attempts to save an outworn structure by patching, in preference to thorough-going reorganization.

This study will be of importance not only to those interested specifically in Great Britain but to students of the combination movement in the United States who believe that there is social value in small, incompletely integrated steel plants.

*Harvard University.*

ABBOTT PAYSON USHER.

*The Paderewski Memoirs.* By IGNACE JAN PADEREWSKI and MARY LAWTON. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1938. Pp. x, 404. \$3.75.)

THIS first volume of the Paderewski memoirs brings the eventful story



of the artist-statesman's life to August 1, 1914. On that day he records that his heart was heavy: "This is the end of my artistic life for a time. Perhaps forever. It is finished." He could not then foresee the other, the statesman's life, that lay ahead of him and of which doubtless much will be reported in the promised second volume.

The present volume seems to be a faithful, even literal, setting down of one side of conversations between Mr. Paderewski and his collaborator, Miss Mary Lawton. The frequent repetitions, the breaks in the narrative, the evidence of questions proposed by an interlocutor, give the book a homely informality. The reader feels himself an eavesdropper at the recounting by a man ripe in years and experience of events, feelings, opinions remembered with a large measure of tranquility. Whether it is the best way to present for history the tale of this man's astonishing career is open to question. A future biographer, wishing to convey a sense of the fascination which Paderewski, the pianist, exercised for nearly half a century and the admiration felt for Paderewski, the statesman, as he pleaded for his country at the end of World War No. 1 (and as he still pleads in World War No. 2) will find these memoirs invaluable, though he will be obliged to consider that he is dealing here with things remembered, not with a necessarily accurate chronicle.

Out of Mr. Paderewski's memory comes no self-pity for the hardships and disappointments of which he had a full measure; nor, on the other hand, is there any false modesty in the face of a success fully witnessed by the world at large. He struggled as a child and young man against poverty, bad teaching, adverse judgments of his ability and in his later years against ill health, trickery, and even calumny. An "unfaltering *inner* conviction of destiny" preserves him throughout all these adversities. He became the most conspicuous and most admired pianist of the generation which preceded the last war. He counted among his ardent friends the intellectually distinguished, the wealthy, the royal personalities of that epoch. He records the evidences of his success and of those friendships with simple, honest pride in the accomplishment of a destiny which laid so heavy a task on him. "I know", he says early in his narrative, "as well as most the despair that can beset the human heart." Much later he remarks without elaboration, "I was enjoying success and recognition everywhere."

Intense patriotism, an utter devotion to a career, an indefatigable desire to work, "to know how to work", as he repeatedly says, pervade this artless narrative from first to last. These forces are revealed in every anecdote and in every opinion he recounts. They are a major part of the secret of his inner life, and they still have power to make of Paderewski, living in exile, beside a silent piano, a potent figure in a tragic world.

*Princeton University.*

R. D. WELCH.

*European Diplomacy in the Near Eastern Question, 1906-1909.* By WADE DEWOOD DAVID. [Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences.] (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1940. Pp. 124. \$1.50 paper, \$2.00 cloth.)

THIS doctoral dissertation attempts to evaluate European diplomacy in terms of the fortunes of the Ottoman Empire at the time that state made its last effort to reorganize and stave off dissolution. The evaluation is based on a veritable mass of material, including works in Turkish and Arabic, quarried exclusively, however, from printed sources. But the clumsy style, not unmarked by childish grammatical errors, and the fumbling organization, which reflects a failure to think the material through, make it difficult to determine exactly what generalizations the author desires to establish. He seems to hold that the concert of Europe in the Near Eastern question foundered in the crises of 1906-1909, so that thereafter Europe was divided into two armed and hostile camps, and that these crises were unnecessary, in the sense that they were not the product of basic conflicts of interest between the great powers but of mutual distrust engendered by the system of secret diplomacy. The powers, the author argues, had a common interest in postponing the partition of the Ottoman Empire; they feared a Balkan upheaval and a general war, and if they had laid their cards on the table much of the trouble could have been avoided. As it was, European diplomacy merely aggravated the situation in the Ottoman Empire. The reform schemes proposed for Macedonia had the contradictory objectives of preventing a general crisis and of severing that province from the empire, while the Sanjak project and other railway schemes, fantastic from an economic and military point of view, demonstrated the tendency of the powers to advance their own interests at the expense of the *status quo* they were trying to preserve. Macedonian reform and the Sanjak railway engendered, while the Reval conference precipitated, the Young Turk revolution. This movement was a reaction not so much to the absolutism as to the weakness of the Hamidian regime and was successful largely because the sultan and his government were secretly in sympathy with it and made no serious effort to defeat it. In the resulting diplomatic crisis—declaration of independence by Bulgaria, annexation of Bosnia by Austria—the concert of Europe broke up, unilateral was substituted for collective action, and the general peace teetered in the balance. In the last pages the reader discovers that Sir Edward Grey must bear most of the responsibility for this catastrophe, argued on the grounds that Russia's ambitions with regard to the Straits and Austria's annexation of Bosnia were perfectly legitimate.

Obviously this argument takes too narrow a view of the role of diplomacy in the historical process. The crises of 1906-1909 were much more than diplomatic misunderstandings; they were part of a general process of international disorganization whose causes lie far deeper than the anterooms of the chancelleries. As the dissertation itself amply demonstrates, there

were basic conflicts of interest among the great powers, the struggle between the German *Drang nach Osten* and the aspirations of Slavdom, for example. Dr. David's thesis will be of value to the specialist, but primarily because of its wealth of factual material.

Wayne University.

RICHARD BURKS.

*The Labour Cost of the World War to Great Britain, 1914-1922: A Statistical Analysis.* By N. B. DEARLE, Formerly Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. [Economic and Social History of the World War, James T. Shotwell, General Editor, Supplementary Volumes, Sanford Schwarz, Associate Editor.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1940. Pp. ix, 260. \$2.00.)

*Industrial Relations in Wartime Great Britain, 1914-1918: Annotated Bibliography of Materials in the Hoover Library on War, Revolution, and Peace.* Compiled by WALDO CHAMBERLIN. Prepared under the Direction of the Division of Industrial Relations, Graduate School of Business, Stanford University. (Stanford University: Stanford University Press. 1940. Pp. x, 239. \$3.00.)

Dr. Dearle's study is a bit of statistical salvage, or rather a progress report of a job that is not now likely to be completed. The figures had been collected for use in a historical monograph on the labor cost of the World War to Great Britain. The war which upset this plan gave the statistical data "renewed importance", and it was decided to publish them, with a detailed running commentary concerning their source, compilation, analysis, limitations, and tentative conclusions. The volume is a thoroughly competent statistical exercise or, if you prefer it, a tangle of tables and technique. The historian may want to cut the calculations and come to the conclusions; yet it might be worth his while to give a glance at the methods employed and the effort to weigh every factor that bears on the final generalizations.

Dr. Dearle tries to measure the temporary loss of labor supply during the years of war and of resettlement (1914-22) and the permanent loss due to such influences as war deaths and restriction on the wartime birth-rate. He takes stock of the losses due to enlistment and casualties and of the compensation found by using other types of labor and working overtime. He examines the effect and extent of "the casualties of industry", *i.e.*, accidents, industrial disease, etc., of trade disputes, of the widespread employment of women, and of the check on emigration. The conclusion of the whole matter is that during the actual war period Great Britain lost the equivalent of the labor of 5,000,000 men—2,000,000 by actual loss of work and 3,000,000 by diversion from peace occupations to war work. For the whole period 1914-22, the total was 3,500,000, comprising 2,000,000 actually lost workers and 1,500,000 diverted ones. The permanent loss of labor

supply was between 500,000 and 700,000 men, and the permanent loss to the total population was at least a million. That was the labor price paid, so far as it can be estimated statistically. What Britain got for it is an even more difficult calculation.

Mr. Chamberlin's bibliography is adequately described in its title. Its preparation was inspired by the hope that the work would be useful to those who have to wrestle with industrial relations during our rearmament program. Whether a list of British studies from the last war will illuminate policy in the United States today no one can say; perhaps a forthcoming bibliography of similar material for Germany since 1933 will prove more valuable. The bibliography is well arranged and classified, and the Hoover Collection is so rich that few important titles are missing. We may wonder at times whether the list is sufficiently balanced or representative, as when ten Labor newspapers are included but only one Liberal and one Conservative journal, and neither of the two latter comes from a provincial industrial area. One may doubt the importance or relevance of many of the titles which bear on Labor politics and politicians, on Malthusianism, and on the liquor problem. One may ask whether such items as a whole page of G. D. H. Cole's works or a page and a quarter on the contents of the *History of the Ministry of Munitions* need be given twice. And whether one is a historian and/or a detective story fan, one must revolt against the index entry "Cole, George Douglas Henry". Let Cole go down in history and literature as G. D. H.

Both books are photolithed from typescript, are easy to read, and are probably much cheaper than if they had been printed in the old way. But if the linotype and the galley-proof reader are to be eliminated, the author and stenographer must be more careful. Several typing errors appear in Dr. Dearle's book, and a caption seems to be missing from a column of figures on page 153. Mr. Chamberlin has two names (Batley, Collison) wrong on page 216 and one (Reckitt) on page 233.

*University of Minnesota.*

HERBERT HEATON.

*The Bolsheviks and the World War: The Origin of the Third International.*

By OLGA HESS GANKIN and H. H. FISHER. [The Hoover Library on War, Revolution, and Peace, Publication No. 15.] (Stanford University: Stanford University Press. 1940. Pp. xviii, 856. \$6.00.)

THE new publication of the Hoover War Library contains the documents on the Bolsheviks and the World War and on the origin of the Third International. The first chapter describes the relations between the Second Socialist International and the different Russian Socialist groups between 1903 and 1914. The other chapters follow the development from the beginning of the World War down to the Stockholm Conference in the summer of 1917. The two authors of the volume, Professor H. H.

Fisher and Dr. Olga Hess Gankin, have done a first-class work for which any student of modern labor and social history must be thankful. Many of the documents which have been printed here could be found before, but only within scattered and far remote publications, or they were practically outside of the range of the average American or European student of history. Now all the sources for this subject are ready in the most comfortable way and in clear and correct English translations. The authors always combine a certain group of documents with a short introduction which gives the facts that are necessary for the understanding of the texts. These introductions are written with the fullest restraint, without any judgment of a scientific or political character. The restraint of the authors is perfectly correct. There is a difference between publishing documents and writing a critical history, and if you confuse the frontier between these two fields, the result will always be unsatisfactory.

During the period which is covered by the new volume the relations between the Russian Socialists and the other European parties of the International had a double character: up to 1914 we observe certain paternalistic experiments of the big Western parties, especially the German party, to help the "poor little" Russian Socialist groups to restore their unity, and from 1914 to 1917 Lenin tried to convince the European workers that they had to join his new revolutionary International. We learn again from the documents published in this volume that both activities ended with a total failure. The International was unable up to 1914 to heal the breach within Russian socialism, and Lenin was unable to win any considerable group of Western workers for his ideas from the beginning of the World War up to the victory of bolshevism in Russia.

In order to give a better impression of the method used by the authors of this volume, let us pick up at random a small part of the book (pp. 100 ff.). In June, 1914, Vandervelde, the famous leader of the Belgian Socialists, visited St. Petersburg in the name of the International in order to study the conditions of Russian socialism on the spot. We get a description of Vandervelde's visit, first in a letter written by the Menshevik Martov to Axelrod and then in a passage from the Recollections of the Bolshevik Shliapnikov. At this moment the Bolsheviks, as well as the other Socialist groups, were practically legal in Russia: they had their legal newspaper, their legal members of parliament, etc., and Vandervelde could talk with them at their editorial office and at a dinner without any obstacle. Nevertheless, Lenin insisted that all the activities of Russian labor must be totally subordinated to the will of a small, illegal organization.

The next documents come from the files of the Russian secret police. The agents of the czarist police were fully informed on all the plans of the "illegal" Bolshevik organization. One of the members of the illegal Bolshevik Central Committee was at this moment the police spy Malinovski.

The Russian police commanded their agents within the different Socialist groups to work against unity. For they believed in the old proverb that "unity makes strength", and therefore the unity of the Socialists would be bad for the monarchy. But Russian history after 1914 proved that this proverb is not always true.

The next documents belong to the Russian Socialist Unification Conference, which met at Brussels on July 16, 1914, as the shadow of the coming war began to darken Europe. Eleven Russian groups met together with the delegates of the International Socialist Bureau, an extremely strange conference at such a moment. We see from the documents how fully Lenin was isolated. At Brussels the Bolsheviks were backed only by one Lettish delegate. Everybody else was against them: Kautsky, Vandervelde, Plekhanov, Trotsky, and Rosa Luxemburg.

*Brooklyn College.*

ARTHUR ROSENBERG.

*Gustav Stresemann: His Diaries, Letters, and Papers.* Edited and translated by ERIC SUTTON. Volume III. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1940. Pp. v, 636. \$6.50.)

THIS last volume of Stresemann's diaries, letters, and papers, edited and translated by Eric Sutton, reveals many hitherto unknown sources of German diplomatic history from the conference with Briand at Thoiry in September, 1926, until Stresemann's untimely death on October 3, 1929. This book records also the dominant trends in home affairs from the break-up of the coalition and subsequent national elections in 1928 to the obscure beginnings of the final crisis of German parliamentarism and democracy.

Extensive excerpts from the foreign minister's voluminous diaries divulge the complexities of the Dawes Plan for Germany and the final conflicts with the Allied statesmen over reparations. Among materials of especial interest to the historian are the notes of Stresemann's interview with Poincaré in August, 1928, which was largely concerned with the European policies of the United States toward intergovernmental debts. During the fateful preparations for the reparations conference at The Hague, Stresemann stated: "What we regard as the task of the conference over and above the settlement of reparations is the settlement of those political questions arising out of the world war which have long been acute but which have unfortunately not hitherto been brought to a solution." Yet the conference ended in disaster, shattering Stresemann's plans for the political reconstruction of Europe and awakening a new nationalistic opposition in Germany to his foreign policies. Fragmentary descriptions of Schacht's activities during this period indicate hitherto unknown parliamentary difficulties.

Another important contribution of this book is the record of Stresemann's activities at the council of the League of Nations. Here are important documents on the 1927 crisis over Germany's eastern frontiers and

minorities, which brought forth definite German claims for the alteration of political boundaries. Here too in broad perspective is the picture of a turning point in Europe's history, when Germany inaugurated the policy which led through Locarno to Geneva. As Stresemann saw it, this was a rainbow of a new future, with a symbolic reaffirmation of Goethe's allegiance to "the generation that is struggling out of darkness into the light".

In his last speech before the League of Nations on European perspectives Stresemann concluded with the hard task of bringing the nations together and bridging over their antipathies. "Let us make no mistake", he said, "they are not so near to each other as could be wished; and let us make no mistake: antipathies exist."

For Germany Stresemann wanted an effective government chosen by the people and supported by the people. He made every effort to prevent the appearance of parties representing purely personal interests and aiming at dictatorship. Beyond his misunderstood "policy of fulfillment abroad", Stresemann envisaged a greater Germany achieving her fundamental aims by democratic processes and international agreements so that the Reich might by peaceful means become again a world power.

*Stanford University.*

RALPH HASWELL LUTZ.

#### AMERICAN HISTORY

*Red Carolinians.* By CHAPMAN J. MILLING. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1940. Pp. xxi, 438. \$4.00.)

THIS volume gives the complete history, so far as it can be traced, of all the Indian tribes that inhabited the Carolinas at any time since the coming of the white man. It begins with a description of the economic and social institutions common to the natives of that culture area; then it takes up one by one the separate history of each tribe, even of those obscure groups known only through the stray references of the earliest explorers.

There are the friendly, hospitable Cusabos of the lower South Carolina coast, who befriended stranded contingents of Spanish and French and succored the struggling English colony at Charleston; the prosperous Cofitachiqui of the De Soto chronicles, who later, under the name of Kasihtas, became leaders of the Creek Confederacy; the mysterious Westos, a fierce people believed to be cannibals, feared and hated by other Indians and by the English; the Savannahs, a southern branch of the Shawnees, usually serving in the French interest; the allied tribes of the Guale province of the Georgia coastal region, who with their neighbors, the Yamassees, were subdued, Christianized, and colonized in Florida by the Spanish; the Tuscaroras, an early offshoot of the Five Nations of New York, who cultivated great fields of corn and planted extensive orchards; the Apalachees of northwestern Florida, who raided the Carolina settlements at the in-



stigation of the Spanish; the Apalachicolas, who belonged to the Creek Confederacy; the Yuchis, a distinct linguistic group, who eventually joined the Creeks; the Chickasaws, a band from the Mississippi tribe, who lived on the Savannah and supported the English in their wars; the Catawbas and about twenty lesser tribes of Siouan stock, who inhabited the rivers of the coastal area to the northeast of Charleston; and the powerful Cherokees of the North Carolina mountains and the area to the south and west. Each of these tribes is traced to its eventual extinction, its survival in the form of a few humble families still living in the Carolinas or merged with a stronger tribe, or its removal and present status in Oklahoma. The story is told with admirable detachment, and Indian depredations are balanced against the intrigues of colonial and state officials, the lawlessness of traders, and the encroachments of settlers.

The book is based upon a prodigious amount of research. Colonial records, accounts by explorers, government documents, ethnological studies, interviews with living Indians—every possible source has been examined. Unfortunately it is not easy to read; it might have been made more interesting if the author had not assumed too much knowledge of local colonial history on the part of his reader and had presented a more complete picture by building up a general background. But as a specialized study the book is a marvel of comprehensiveness and accuracy; it will remain the final, definitive history of the Indians of the Carolina region.

Marshall, Oklahoma.

ANGIE DEBO.

*America learns to Play: A History of Popular Recreation, 1607-1940.* By FOSTER RHEA DULLES. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1940. Pp. xvii, 441. \$4.00.)

ONE might as well say at the start that this is a grand book. In a day of controversy as to the relative merits of journalistic and academic approaches to history, it is a pleasure to find the merits of each so effectively blended as they are in the present work. A study of the history of entertainment, it is itself most entertaining. At the same time *America learns to Play* is primarily a serious study of a theme that had hitherto eluded historical synthesis. The subject, as Professor Dulles points out, is one of great complexity. "Popular recreation", even when distinguished from art and other related categories, ramifies into all the nooks and crannies of a people's life, and it was no simple task to view these in systematic fashion without losing one's way. Yet the treatment is comprehensive without being diffuse, at times detailed but never antiquarian.

The story begins with the colonial period, proceeds to the "Mid-Century", and then comes down to the present, combining a chronological and a topical arrangement for the later period. Nearly every phase of recreation is included, from the simple pleasures of rural life to those reflecting urban sophistication. There are, to be sure, one or two striking

omissions. Although the study, as noted, is itself an entertaining book, there is little discussion of the pleasure that Americans may have derived from other books throughout the past three centuries. Time was, no doubt, when the most exciting event in certain village circles was the appearance of a new novel by Dickens, but there is small suggestion of it here. One also misses a theme which anthropologists, at least, might view as meaningful, namely, the games rather peculiar to, and once common among, small children. Where, for example, are the street games of yesteryear? It were rather ungrateful, however, to stress these matters. One can hardly blame the author for not introducing the intricate literary theme in view of the wide range of topics actually included.

The study is based on an unusually wide range of source and secondary materials. There are ample citations and a useful index. Synthesis is achieved by interpreting each detail in relation to the whole of American social development, and this is the outstanding contribution of the work. The pervading influences of Puritan origins, changing social forces, continued English contacts, and upper-class prestige—all these run through the narrative, providing both continuity and significance.

*University of Pennsylvania.*

RICHARD H. SHRYOCK.

*The Irrepressible Democrat: Roger Williams.* By SAMUEL HUGH BROCKUNIER, Assistant Professor of History, Wesleyan University. [Ronald Series in History, edited by Ralph H. Gabriel, Yale University.] (New York: Ronald Press Company. 1940. Pp. xii, 305. \$4.00.)

PROFESSOR Brockunier offers his study not as a formal biography but as a consideration of Williams's ideas and public life "in their total social milieu". It deals with Rhode Island as well as with Williams and demonstrates that the colony in the 1640's achieved a democratic order, with a program of economic equalitarianism no less than of religious liberty.

This democracy is attributed to two factors—to the force of a reaction against the rigors of Puritan theocracy by a few zealous Protestants, notably Williams, who "fixed upon the inwardness of spiritual regeneration as the prime essential", and to the powerful reinforcement which their liberal impulses received from the frontier position of Rhode Island. The analysis of the respects in which the existence of open land and the absence of imperial supervision and of an intrenched aristocracy generated a system of democracy makes this volume an excellent discussion of the second theme. In treating the first it is less satisfactory. Professor Brockunier translates the terminology of an inward spiritual regeneration directly into the terms of democratic agitation, and his book is most open to criticism at the difficult and hazardous points where social and intellectual history meet.

Because Williams was banished from Massachusetts by an oligarchy, Professor Brockunier sees in his revolt *ipso facto* a "democratic" protest, although at the time the dispute was concentrated wholly on the question

of whether magistrates should enforce the "first table", and Professor Brockunier himself is obliged to confess that Williams "made no immediate frontal attack on the class structure by which magistrates and clergy perpetuated their power". Nevertheless, he argues that in 1635 Williams was already "too suspiciously democratic". Ideas formulated in the language of theology and mysticism should be reworded in the language of social conflict only with great caution and with full understanding of their primary meaning. Such abstraction of the issues from their original context does actual harm to the essential greatness of Williams in that it obscures the source of his vision, which was not merely belief in the inwardness of regeneration but the dream of a free and unsullied holiness, above the capacities of earth, so ecstatically sanctified that it could not permit the defilement of being brought even to truth itself by any worldly compulsion. His ultimate position as a "Seeker" was mystical, hardly that of a "rationalist", and his thought is not accurately described as "groping toward a more scientific understanding of the mind of mankind", at least as we use the word scientific. The order in Massachusetts was indeed aristocratic, but because in England the Puritans had resisted Stuart absolutism does not mean that in Massachusetts they "moved backward into the bleak pathway of arrogant domination" when they were intolerant and undemocratic. By the same token there was a wide difference between the motives of Williams and those of his followers in Rhode Island; they took advantage of their opportunities to become land speculators and capitalists and even before Williams's death were on the high road to oligarchy, an economic rather than a theological domination but as tight and arrogant as the Massachusetts group. The frontier made for democracy only until the first settlers could become "proprietors" and monopolize the public domain, but his belief in an inward regeneration kept Williams truly liberal to the end of his days. One may question, therefore, whether Professor Brockunier has done full justice to the ideas of his hero, but he has treated Williams's public career with more understanding of the social setting than it has received in any previous biography.

*Harvard University.*

PERRY MILLER.

*Cotton Mather: A Bibliography of his Works.* By THOMAS JAMES HOLMES.

Three volumes. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1940. Pp. xxxvi, 462; 463-910; 911-1395. \$15.00.)

THERE is no reason to suppose that Cotton Mather will ever again have so devoted a reader as Catherine Byles, who "read out" one of his little works forty-four times in order to fortify herself against tribulation. Nor is it probable that anyone will in the future get from the essays of the learned Puritan what young Benjamin Franklin did, "such a turn of thinking, as to have an influence on my conduct through life". Even the *Magnalia* is now hardly more than a name to any but a handful of special students. But

Mather's day is not quite over yet. Within recent years there have been such new signs of vitality as a volume of selections from his writings and a complete facsimile edition of the *Manuductio ad ministerium*. If the present vigorous interest in early American studies continues long, his hundreds of other books and pamphlets will emerge a little from the obscurity into which they have fallen.

It may never be possible to bring this widely scattered library together, but in his three sumptuous volumes Mr. Holmes has done the next best thing. In them one can for the first time conveniently consult the garrulous title pages of all the available first editions, title pages, beautifully reproduced, which are frequently as good as tables of contents. Here also are listed the later editions, with such lost titles as can be authenticated and ghosts which can now be considered effectually laid. Many books are partly outlined. Here and there significant passages are quoted. There are extensive descriptive, historical, and critical notes, with a few special essays contributed by qualified scholars. There is an appendix devoted to manuscripts. The census of copies of first editions, which does not pretend to be complete, shows at first glance, it is true, some surprising weaknesses. The general index is perhaps the least adequate part of the work. On the whole, however, the faults of the bibliographer and his helpers are minor and their virtues great. It is only when we arrive at problems of interpretation that serious doubts arise.

It is now clear enough that Cotton Mather was much more than a pompous pedant and the officious propagandist and press agent of an outworn creed. His apologists have done commendable service in righting the real wrongs he has suffered at the hands of unfriendly critics, and the new Cotton Mather, an intellectual liberal far in advance of his age, is an alluring figure. Yet there is reason to fear that the case for him has been overstated. It is an easy error to give him full credit for his virtues but charge up his vices to the age he lived in, and it is equally easy to change the emphasis from the conservative ideas on which it originally stood to liberal ideas, where it looks better today. Mr. Holmes, like others before him, has not quite kept clear of these old pitfalls. One example must suffice, and I choose his analysis (pp. 919-20) of the "Return" which Mather wrote as spokesman for the ministerial investigators fresh from their inquiry into the growing furor over witchcraft at Salem Village. The editor seems to lay the blame for the damaging eighth article on the popular hysteria, fault of the age, not of Mather and his fellow ministers. He changes the original emphasis in the report by disposing of this article first, out of its proper order, and then triumphantly exhibiting several earlier articles which wisely point out the danger of hasty action and the untrustworthiness of spectral evidence. Unfortunately, however, Mather himself gave the eighth article its emphatic final position and its unequivocal phrasing: "*Nevertheless, We cannot but humbly Recommend unto the Government, the speedy and*

*vigorous Prosecution of such as have rendred themselves obnoxious, according to the Direction given in the Laws of God, and the wholesome Statutes of the English Nation, for the Detection of Witchcrafts."*

But whatever his faults, Cotton Mather cannot be safely ignored by historians. In spite of his bookishness he was an observer as well as a reporter of the life of his own day. He interested himself in a surprising variety of persons. Few human concerns from the prenatal to the post-mortem escaped either his probing curiosity or his inveterate moralizing. He was familiar with the social, economic, and political issues of the day and even had a cure for the current depression. He summarized and moralized the findings of the pioneers of science and was a correspondent of the Royal Society, which elected him a member.

Such a man is worth all the painstaking attention that he gets in this bibliography, which, with a lesser work called *The Minor Mathers*, rounds out the remarkable series Mr. Holmes began with his *Increase Mather*, published in 1931. It will be a fortunate day for American history, literary and otherwise, when such bibliographies of our authors are no longer rare exceptions.

Columbia University.

RALPH L. RUSK.

*Yankees and Yorkers.* By DIXON RYAN FOX, President, Union College.

[Anson G. Phelps Lectureship on Early American History, New York University.] (New York: New York University Press. 1940. Pp. x, 237. \$4.00.)

In eight admirable lectures Mr. Fox has narrated the partial conquest of New Netherland and the colony and state of New York by New England. The Puritan colonies of Connecticut and New Haven, advancing on the northern shore of Long Island Sound and on Long Island, led the attack. Peter Stuyvesant, director-general of New Netherland by the grace of God and the Dutch West India Company, hoped that appeasement would halt his aggressive neighbors, but "the first international negotiation on American soil" at Hartford in 1650 proved to be a Munich for New Netherland, for the English accepted all concessions and crowded on. An expedition sent from England to conquer New Netherland by Cromwell in 1654 was abortive, but a similar expedition sent by Charles II ten years later succeeded.

The rivalry was more than racial, and the struggle between New England and New Netherland gave way to a struggle between New England and the province of New York. The Connecticut-New York boundary line was not drawn in its entirety until 1731. A more turbulent struggle between Massachusetts and New York followed. Then New Hampshire took up the gauntlet. At the time of the American Revolution the anomalous republic of Vermont, settled chiefly from Connecticut and "whipped . . . into constant forward action" by Ethan Allen, sought to establish itself in territory

to which the title of New York had been recognized by the crown in 1764. Had royal troops been used by New York against Vermont as they had been used against Massachusetts, the American Revolution—so Mr. Fox believes—might have had an earlier start and a different outcome. The New York system of land tenure blocked New England's expansion westward, but the American Revolution cleared away some proprietary titles. The early national period found population in New England "pressing on subsistence", and New York had an unsettled west. Acquiring title to land from speculators, New Englanders poured into the unsettled region, and Yorkers soon found themselves encircled by Yankees. In the new environment Yankee stock improved and became more liberal. The long conflict between New England and New York was more than geographical. The two sections differed in government, church organization, and land system. It was a conflict less of democracy (p. 140) than of theocracy against autocracy, of independency against episcopacy, of middle and lower classes against aristocracy.

Mr. Fox's statement that the Dutch were in America by government authority while the English were squatters (p. 46) might be challenged, for the grant of territory between the fortieth and forty-eighth parallels to the Council for New England was made by James I, not by the Virginia Company of Plymouth responsible for the settlement at Kennebec (p. 28), and antedated the grant not of territory but of the exclusive right to trade in more than half the world to the Dutch West India Company by the states-general of the United Netherlands. Mr. Fox ignores or overlooks the conscientious belief of the New England Puritans that to them had been revealed the City of God and that it was their duty to extend the boundaries of that City. He does not hide his sympathy for the Yorkers and his antipathy for the Yankees. "The officials of the New York government may well have pondered the value of Connecticut engagements. . . . New England piety . . . imposed little restraint on sharp dealing with outsiders. . . . legal rights to land were of little avail when one was dealing with New England" (pp. 136, 137, 160). Nonetheless, Mr. Fox has woven many specialized studies of New England and New York into an arresting and thought-provoking synthesis.

*Wells College.*

ISABEL M. CALDER.

*Agrarian Conflicts in Colonial New York, 1711-1775.* By IRVING MARK, Instructor in History, Brooklyn College. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1940. Pp. 237. \$3.00.)

IN this careful monograph Dr. Mark describes the disturbances which grew out of the land system of colonial New York. Heretofore no one has explained adequately these outbreaks, which Mr. Mark likens to the New Jersey land riots and to the revolt of the North Carolina Regulators. In

presenting them as "agrarian conflicts" he views colonial history in the light of internal social struggles. Besides the division between small farmers and landlords Mr. Mark has found a conflict between rival bands of speculators who were allied with different groups of farmers.

From a study of the land law the author concludes that tenants were in an unfortunate plight. The injustice of the manorial tenures and the control exercised by the magnates were the bases of discontent. The English common law regarding real property offered no escape for the tenant; and the lords discouraged appeals to chancery as dangerous to the liberties of Englishmen. "Statutes made dubious titles certain; a recording system, which was of special concern to the large landowner, kept the titles clear." The tenants therefore welcomed any opportunity of upsetting the *status quo* by extralegal means.

The story of conflict begins with an account of the troubles of the Palatine immigrants, 1712-20. Other disturbances arose in the forties and fifties from the dispute over the New York-Massachusetts boundary. Speculators in Massachusetts bought unextinguished Indian titles to portions of two large New York estates and offered discontented tenants more secure titles, longer leases, and lower rents. Resulting strife grew into border warfare, in which opposing armed bands of small farmers were led by the speculators and by the New York landlords.

The "Great Rebellion of 1766" occurred when the Indians revived their claims and granted new leases to occupying tenants. Landlords then tried to eject such tenants, but the latter used force to protect their new titles or to gain better terms from the New York proprietors. Groups of armed "levelers" attacked jails, courts, and local authorities. Royal troops finally restored order, and the rebellion accomplished little.

The area of the New Hampshire Grants became the next scene of conflict. There the New York magnates appeared as intruders seeking to oust New England speculators and small farmers. In this struggle is evident a clash between large operators as well as a conflict between rival land systems. The small farmers generally preferred the land tenure of New England to that of New York. When fighting occurred, Britain denied the use of royal troops to either side despite four appeals from the New Yorkers. By 1775 this strife was merging with the greater struggle against England.

Mr. Mark has made a valuable contribution. He has consulted a large body of court and land records, reports of officials, papers of the landed families, and correspondence of such men as Colden, Johnson, and Gage. One significant conclusion is the author's revelation that there was much Loyalist sentiment among the New York tenants during the Revolution, which is explained by their belief that the crown protected them against "rapacious landlords".

*Madison, Wisconsin.*

GEORGE E. BOOTH.



*Illinois on the Eve of the Seven Years' War, 1747-1755.* Edited with Introduction and Notes by THEODORE CALVIN PEASE, University of Illinois, and ERNESTINE JENISON, Illinois State Historical Library. [Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library.] (Springfield: the Library. 1940. Pp. lii, 977. \$2.50.)

THIS volume embodies the fruits of the prolonged researches of Professor Pease for materials bearing on the closing years of French domination in the West. The sources here reproduced have been drawn from the Archives nationales in Paris; the Public Record Office in London; the papers of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, which form a part of the Loudoun Collection in the Huntington Library in San Marino, California; and the Chicago Historical Society. As indicated on the title page, the period covered bridges the hiatus between King George's War and the French and Indian War. The volume is in one sense a supplement of an earlier one in the same series of publications which presented the relevant documents touching the European diplomatic phases of the same subject—the French-English rivalry for the control of the West. In the present instance there are disclosed the activities of a succession of French officials in Louisiana and Canada and of a host of minor persons in both colonies to save the cause of France in North America.

It must be emphasized that the materials thus presented are new and are of such a nature as to throw much light in dark places on a period of Western history which, it is now plain, has been one of the least known. The sources are mainly, of course, in the French language; and accompanying each document is a translation which is usually a fairly free rendition, because all too often the documents were composed in anything but literate French. The volume is implemented with a penetrating essay, in which Professor Pease and Miss Jenison have succeeded admirably in disentangling the complicated threads of Western history during the period in question and which will be intensively used by readers of the documents. There is also a workable index.

The central theme of the volume is not surprising: it is the struggle between French and English traders for supremacy in the lucrative fur trade, for with supremacy in that field of action went other forms of control. We have here an abundance of evidence that the English traders, once they contacted the Western Indians, tended to monopolize the trade by reason of their ability to undersell their rivals and because of the superior quality of their goods. We have heretofore possessed proof of this situation from English sources; now it is confirmed by the French. This economic contest, however, had significant repercussions in the political field. Various changes in the civil and military policies of the French were shaped to the end that the growing English influence should be entirely excluded from the trans-Allegheny West. And throughout the period French officials in the West used every artifice to stem the tide and to appease the Indians,

who, it is now clearly disclosed, were not the traditionally firm friends of the French, especially when their interests were touched.

The reviewer's interest was also aroused by the abortive suggestion of Maurepas for the separation of the Illinois country from Louisiana and its union with Canada in order to achieve a more effective civil and military administration of the region. Students of eighteenth century geography will be interested in the instructions and reports concerning the physical features and products of what are now Missouri, Illinois, and other Midwestern states. One of the tersest, yet most graphic, documents in the entire volume is the deposition of a group of English traders from Pennsylvania descriptive of their remarkable odyssey as prisoners of the French, which journey finally ended in France. The documents also disclose much about social conditions in the Illinois country in the mid-century.

*Department of State.*

CLARENCE E. CARTER.

*George Washington.* By NATHANIEL WRIGHT STEPHENSON and WALDO HILARY DUNN. Volume I, 1732-1777. Volume II, 1778-1799. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1940. Pp. xiii, 473; vii, 596. \$10.00 a set.)

BEFORE his death in January, 1935, Professor Stephenson had finished the manuscript of his *George Washington* up to the inauguration of 1789 (Vol. II, chap. ix), slightly more than two thirds of the work as published. His colleague, Professor Dunn, who had been in close touch with him throughout the course of his work, wrote the remaining seven chapters. If this division of labor were not acknowledged in the preface, no reader of the biography would be conscious of it. There is no noticeable break in the style, and from beginning to end the avowed purpose of the work is maintained with consistency: namely, to present Washington as the personality dominating the environment in which he found himself, in war and in peace. It is not a "life and times" of Washington that the authors have written but rather a life of Washington as it impinged upon, and gave direction to, the events of his time. Of the many hundreds of biographies of Washington that we have, none, it seems to me, so clearly reveals the extraordinary power of the man in shaping the destiny of a people. He bestrides the world of men like a colossus: the rest—Hamilton, Jefferson, Knox, Randolph, Greene, Gates, the Lees, the Adamses, the Pinckneys—all "walk under his huge legs and peep about". He is portrayed, in the words of the authors, as "the presiding genius of American liberty and American nationality". That this type of dynamic biography was congenial to Professor Stephenson we know from his earlier life of Lincoln.

The authors make no claim to the discovery of new material on the life of Washington but acknowledge their dependence on the definitive edition of his works published by the Bicentennial Commission under the super-

vision of John C. Fitzpatrick (twenty-six volumes to date). Indeed, they cite only two unpublished letters of Washington, neither of them of special importance. Their reason for adding another to the long list of biographies of Washington is that, though the testimony as to the facts of his life is all in, there is still and always ample room for new evaluations of the character which lay behind the facts. On this point one of the most interesting features of the first volume is the zeal which Professor Stephenson shows in combating the "dithyrambic school" of historians, who, in the effort to make Washington more "human", have let their imagination fill certain gaps in our knowledge of Washington's earlier career with "fantastic tales" of his affairs of the heart. The chief offender in this matter was Rupert Hughes, who, in his three-volume biography of Washington to the close of the Revolution, not only pictured the young colonial officer as "moping" over his hopeless passion for his friend's wife, Sally Fairfax, but even attributed to his lovelorn despair his "application" to Governor Dinwiddie for a commission to fight the French and Indians. Professor Stephenson shows conclusively in a long footnote (I, 424-27) how unfounded these assumptions are. He had already joined issue with Hughes in an article on "The Romantics and George Washington" in the *American Historical Review* of January, 1934, to which Hughes replied in the July number, insisting still that we have "irrefragable evidence" of Washington's "wretched courtship" and of Sally's "teasing evasion". But the "irrefragable" evidence turns out to be only Mr. Hughes's arbitrary interpretation of a few letters into which he reads sentiments utterly at variance with the character of Washington. As to the latter's "application" to the governor for military service in order that he might drown his sorrow over his "lowland beauty" or any other of the tantalizing ladies who were supposed to play such a decisive role in his young life, Professor Stephenson shows that the invitation came from Dinwiddie and at a time when Sally's "flirtatious" maneuvers with General Braddock to get Washington a chance to go to the wars absolutely precluded any such intrigue.

On the more important matters of Washington's strategy in the Revolution and his relations to his generals the authors are not impressed with the arguments of Washington's critics. For example, Charles Francis Adams's contention—that Washington made a serious blunder when he marched south with inadequate forces to meet Howe instead of joining with the northern army to crush Burgoyne and then leading the combined American forces to defeat Howe and protect Philadelphia—is answered by Professor Stephenson's demonstration of the insurmountable difficulties which such a march would present to forces so inadequately equipped as Washington's were in the autumn of 1777 (II, 13-14). What Professor Stephenson's reaction to Bernhard Knollenberg's recent *Washington and the Revolution* would have been is an interesting speculation. For Knollen-

berg, in his study of the first four years of the war, brings charges against Washington of harsh and unfair treatment of some of his generals. He rehabilitates Gates (whom Stephenson calls "Mephistopheles") as a faithful and able officer, approves the conduct of Mifflin, and declares that the "Conway cabal" existed only in the imagination of Washington's thick and thin supporters. If there was a plot against anyone, he says, it was against Conway, not Washington. No more serious adverse criticism of Washington as commander of the army has been written (or supported by more documentary evidence) than this innocent-looking little volume by the librarian of Yale University. It will have to be reckoned with in any future history of the American Revolution. It came too late for Professor Stephenson's notice.

It is hard to attach ranking importance to the characteristics of so well-balanced and consistent a person as Washington. Some readers of this remarkable biography will think that the authors have laid more stress on Washington as the achiever of our freedom from the domination of a stupid British king and a corrupt British ministry; others will see a greater emphasis laid on his administrative skill in guiding the fortunes of the new nation in the precarious days of its birth and infancy. In both services Washington was superb and irreplaceable. The traits of character in the great man which emerge with special force from the study of these volumes are, I think, three: first, his gift for inspiring confidence in men in the midst of desperate circumstances; second, his scrupulous respect for the civil authority, even when Congress tried him sorely and voices were urging him to use his military power to overawe or to supplant the bungling, inefficient, faction-ridden body which had conferred upon him the command of the army; and third, the constancy with which he held to the conviction that the future welfare of the country lay in a subordination of local and particular interests to a devotion to the union of the states under a central government with adequate powers.

Some objection might be taken to the apportionment of space in the volumes. For example, 150 pages are devoted to the French and Indian War, in which Washington was, after all, but a young subaltern, as against only 192 pages on the Revolution, in which he was not only the commander in chief but the one indispensable figure. Again, it seems a little out of focus to devote ten pages to Major L'Enfant's plans for the city of Washington (II, 324-33). The volumes are remarkably free from errors, though here and there a slip occurs, as when "northeast" is printed for "northwest" twice (I, 227, 314), and Elihu Root is called Secretary of State in 1911 (II, 330). There is a bit of carelessness in speaking of the Supreme Court as "empowered [by the Constitution] to pass on the validity of laws" and of "treaties made by it [Congress]" (II, 238). Nor had the opponents of the Constitution in 1787 "labelled themselves republicans" (II, 246). Finally, it

seems out of place to speak of the forty-nine-year-old Franklin at the time of Braddock's expedition as "this persuasive old person from Philadelphia" (I, 129). But these (except for the error on Root) are only tiny blemishes on a work of surpassing excellence. The index is adequate, the notes are copious, and good black and white maps of the main battles of the Revolution are furnished.

*Columbia University.*

DAVID S. MUZZEY.

*The American Journal of Ambrose Serle, Secretary to Lord Howe, 1776-1778.* Edited with an Introduction by EDWARD H. TATUM, JR. [Huntington Library Publications.] (San Marino: Huntington Library. 1940. Pp. xxx, 369. \$4.50.)

THE publication of the American Journal of Ambrose Serle, who was private secretary to Lord Howe, would seem at first sight to promise an important contribution to the history of the American Revolution. Few persons could have been in a better position than its author to answer some of the many questions raised by the conduct of British operations under the Howes. One opens the Journal, therefore, with keen expectation, almost sure that it will clear up a number of disputed points.

It is, consequently, a sharp disappointment to find that it adds almost nothing to what we already know. Throughout most of the Journal the discussion of military events is such as might have been written by almost anyone attached to the British forces in a nonmilitary capacity. Serle seemed to have only a very ordinary interest in the decisions and conduct of the military contest. There is not the slightest hint that he possessed any special information about the motives and considerations which determined the course of the British commanders. At first he shared the general confidence that the revolt would be quelled and later manifested the prevailing concern at the lack of decisiveness of the measures taken. But there is no evidence that his feeling came from any inside information. Insofar as the decisions of the British commanders still puzzle historians, this uncertainty will secure little relief from the publication of Serle's Journal.

This is not to say, however, that there is not much of interest in it. Although thoroughly prejudiced against all those in revolt, Serle was nevertheless a keen observer and was without illusions about the Loyalists. He pictures the inadequacy of most of them as sharply as he paints the faults of their opponents. At the same time he gives us a fairly full picture of the discussions under way among the more sensible of the Loyalists with an eye to drawing up a plan of reconciliation after British arms should have triumphed.

The real historical value of the Journal is, in fact, the light it sheds upon the Loyalists. One can trace in it their early hopes of a speedy end to the rebellion and their growing concern as the months slipped by and the

tactical successes of British arms failed to produce important strategic results. The section dealing with the period just previous to the British evacuation of Philadelphia paints a poignant picture of a class of people who, a few months previously, had counted confidently upon being restored to power but who now looked ruin in the face.

Even if one must confess that the *Journal* fails to contribute much that is new to our knowledge of the American Revolution, we can feel grateful for the publication of so human a picture of the contact between the British authorities and their leading supporters in the colonies. The editor, in both his introduction and his notes, has done an excellent job which is of great assistance to readers of the *Journal*.

*Swarthmore College.*

TROYER S. ANDERSON.

*American Studies in Honor of William Kenneth Boyd.* By Members of the Americana Club of Duke University. Edited by DAVID KELLY JACKSON. [Duke University Publications.] (Durham: Duke University Press. 1940. Pp. ix, 377. \$4.00.)

THIS volume of essays by members of the Americana Club at Duke University was published in honor of their late colleague, William Kenneth Boyd. His fondness for "buttonholing" some friends on the campus to share a bit of historical lore led him, the preface tells us, to gather together a group of colleagues sufficiently interested in the past of America to meet monthly at dinner to discuss some topic presented in written or informal form by one of the group. It is with peculiar pleasure that the reviewer read this book. She recalls distinctly his "buttonholing" her at a meeting of the American Historical Association to ask whether she had ever come across the Red String organization in her Civil War researches and his obvious disappointment when she replied in the affirmative.

The volume consists of eight studies in various fields, united only by the fact that each deals with some Southerner or some aspect of Southern history. Yet in a very real sense their authors do honor to a former comrade, for here is a series of essays, dedicated to a scholar and enthusiastic collector of manuscripts, which center in the field of his special interest and which frequently direct attention to the Duke collection of manuscripts which he so notably helped to gather.

A reviewer hesitates to venture an opinion outside his particular field; much more reluctant than must one be when confronted with essays written by specialists in such diverse fields as economics, literature, and sociology. Historians, however, will rejoice that such varied interests are gathered within the covers of one volume in order to view the "Political Economy of Jefferson, Madison, and Adams" by Joseph J. Spengler through the eyes of an economist; to follow "Literary Nationalism in the Old South" by J. B. Hubbell; to learn something about the literati of the section from the study by David K. Jackson, "Philip Pendleton Cooke".

Definitely within the realm of the historian is "State Geological Surveys" by Charles S. Sydnor. This straightforward account should be distinctly helpful to many workers in economic aspects of Southern history. Falling within the general realm of the historian is "The Natural History of Agricultural Labor in the South" by Edgar T. Thompson. It is illuminating to study the plantation system, not as a succession of events and details but as a study of processes. The interpretation that slavery as an economic system was not declining by 1861 (p. 121) presents a narrow point of view, since it disregards all factors except that of abundance of land. The essay, however, is thought provoking as to the future of the plantation system. Also within the general realm of history lies the factual account of "Ante-Bellum Cincinnati and its Southern Trade" by William Alexander Mabry, as does "Some Notes on the Unitarian Church in the Ante-Bellum South", which, as the title claims, is "A Contribution to the History of Southern Liberalism". Also of interest to the historian, though written by a confrere in the English department, Charles Robert Anderson, is the sad story of the closing years of a member of our craft, Charles Gayarré, based largely on his manuscript letters to Paul Hayne, which are preserved at Duke University.

*Goucher College.*

ELLA LONN.

*Gullah: Negro Life in the Carolina Sea Islands.* By MASON CRUM, Department of Religion, Duke University. [Duke University Publications.] (Durham: Duke University Press. 1940. Pp. xv, 351. \$3.50.)

THIS book attempts to present a cross-sectional view of Negro life on the coastal fringe of lower South Carolina. The depressed country extending from Georgetown on the north to Port Royal on the south, including Edisto, St. Helena, and other sea islands, is far-famed as the residence of a distinctive black folk—distinctive for their simple, primitive ways and for their quaint, oft-elided jargon. Both these low country Negroes and the strange language that they speak bear the name Gullah. Hence the title of Professor Crum's book.

Professor Crum is himself a native of "Gullah land", but in maturity he betook himself to the up country to attend college. About ten years ago he was appointed to the faculty of Duke University's department of religion. To a great extent *Gullah* is written in the spirit of one who after years of absence sits down to tell the story of the land of his nativity. The account is intimate, sympathetic, mellow, rich in luscious detail, and at times repetitious and rambling.

The author begins his story with a description of the appearance and character of the low country. He tells of the flora, of the fauna, and of the ways of life of both the black folk and the whites. As the narrative moves into the subject of "the world of nature", the writer achieves a beauty of expression which savors more of poetry than of prose. In subsequent chapters



there are full discussions of the Gullah dialect, of low country spirituals, and of religious activities of the slaveholding era. Concluding portions of the book tell of the coming of the Federals to the sea island country and of their abortive attempts to effect an overnight transformation of simple bondsmen into full-blown, Yankee-patterned citizens.

Professor Crum does not tell a story that is new. Most of the ground that he covers has been traversed before, and well, by such writers as U. B. Phillips, Samuel G. Stoney, Ambrose Gonzales, Elizabeth Pringle, Guy Johnson, E. L. Pierce, and others. True, there is frequent and careful reference to source materials, which reference the author feels is essential to his effort "to give a true picture of the social history of the coastal Negro" (p. 240), but in many instances the citations are indirect (though with proper acknowledgment) by way of secondary treatments of Phillips and others. The tendency to quote frequently and at great length does considerable damage to style; and the damage is accentuated by failure at times to achieve smoothness of transition. Recurrently the narrative has too much the semblance of a piecing together of a well-chosen but inadequately digested and incompletely co-ordinated series of quotations.

In the opinion of this reviewer, Professor Crum's most outstanding contribution to the history of the sea island Negro is his discussion of the low country spirituals, particularly his painstaking tabulation of the relation of verse phrases to biblical passages.

*University of Mississippi.*

B. I. WILEY.

*Slavery Times in Kentucky.* By J. WINSTON COLEMAN, JR. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1940. Pp. xiv, 351. \$3.00.)

So far as I can recall, no book about slavery describes the institution in such contrasting colors as does Coleman's *Slavery Times in Kentucky*, and this alternation of brightness and shadow is both intriguing and puzzling. At one extreme is the statement that "it does not seem too much to say that this [the Kentucky] system of bondage was the mildest that existed anywhere in the world" (p. 15). Coleman finds the explanation of the unique beneficence of Kentucky slavery in nature's generosity to all who live in the blue-grass state as well as in the fact that slavery was there integrated with a farm rather than a plantation system of economy. Hence there was little of plantation regimentation, absentee ownership was infrequent, overseers were not numerous, and most of the slaves worked under the personal direction of their owners. About a third of the book is devoted to the ordinary, daily activities of slavery.

At the other extreme, a large part of the book, perhaps too much for a well-proportioned account of the institution, recounts bizarre and extraordinary events in which cruelty and bestiality were all too evident. These events occupied only a small fraction of the life of the slaves even when

allowance is made for the fact that the shadows of such events fell far across the quiet periods of life. Insurrectionary plots, crimes, flights across the Ohio, kidnappings, and the purchase and sale of Negroes are told with rich detail drawn from local court records, newspapers, abolitionist propaganda, and other sources. Many of the episodes are dramatic and stirring, and the book will interest many readers by the very sharpness of the contrast between the goodness and evil that is set forth in this description of Kentucky slavery. In the accounts of the slave trade and of runaway slaves an unusual amount of new material is presented. An important contribution is made in the treatment of problems peculiar to the institution in a border state. Attention is given to the Kentucky Colonization Society, and there is a good chapter entitled "Crusaders for Freedom". Typography and binding are attractive, and the book is well illustrated.

The work would have been improved by a more critical use of the sources. Some of dubious validity were taken at face value, and in a few instances the interpretation of material is open to question. One example is the assertion (p. 206) that widespread kidnaping of free blacks is proved by the claims of many jailed fugitives that they were free; the fact is overlooked that bona fide slaves sometimes claimed to be free so as to lessen the chance of being returned to a disliked master.

*Duke University.*

CHARLES S. SYDNOR.

*Thomas Spalding of Sapelo.* By E. MERTON COULTER. [Southern Biography Series, edited by Wendell Holmes Stephenson and Fred C. Cole.] (University: Louisiana State University Press. 1940. Pp. xii, 334. \$3.00.)

THIS added number to the Southern Biography series is most welcome. Professor Coulter adopts a somewhat apologetic attitude in his preface because Thomas Spalding might be "considered secondary" in importance among men who have helped to shape American life. He feels that many such characters "must be rescued from an oblivion too long drawn out". I for one am inclined to agree with him. Economic history has been written too largely in terms of bushels grown and kilowatt-hours generated without adequate attention to those who brought about these developments, especially the experimenters and executives. We need several score of studies such as that now under review: on Elias Hasket Derby (the elder), Albert Fink, Loammi Baldwin, Thomas Lawson, and many others.

The story of Thomas Spalding is well told. For the most part it is made up skillfully of parts drawn from a large number of sources, for Professor Coulter had no autobiography or other substantial survey to draw upon. It is the story of a rather remarkable personage in the first half of the nineteenth century. Although he spent almost all of his mature life in Georgia and devoted his thoughts chiefly to improvement of that area, Spalding's career was by no means prosaic, nor, in fact, was his influence limited to

that community. The reader is, in fact, somewhat astounded at the capacity of one man to participate in so much in a single lifetime. Spalding's chief claim to note seems undoubtedly to lie in his agricultural experiments and in his numerous writings in contemporary agricultural journals (Professor Coulter notes at least forty articles in the latter). But he was also interested in the development of banking and transportation facilities in Georgia; he participated in arbitration over the southern boundary of Georgia; and he maintained an active interest in local politics.

One is inclined, to be sure, to wonder why he warrants the description of "statesman" instead of politician. I for one would have been glad to learn more of the extensive library which Spalding gathered together. Again, the study seems to lack the human touch. It is more the story of a figure that does things than of a personality with idiosyncrasies. Only toward the very end of the volume (pp. 303-304) does the reader get a picture of Spalding as a man. Only then does he learn that Spalding was "stern, quick tempered, and ardent", or that he "had no sense of humor and little of the lighter imagination that often helps out a situation". The reader is admittedly conscious from time to time that Spalding was not always unruffled by controversy—that he had "not failed to have his enemies" (p. 234)—but on completing the volume he probably does not fail to wonder whether a human story has not been lost in a chronicle of manifold activities.

Nevertheless, Professor Coulter's story is greatly to be welcomed and deserves perusal by all who would understand Southern economic development. With the facility of expression which Professor Coulter has at his command, this duty of perusal will be found also to be a pleasure.

Harvard University.

ARTHUR H. COLE.

*And Still the Waters Run.* By ANGIE DEBO. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1940. Pp. x, 417. \$4.00.)

WHEN Andrew Jackson became President of the United States, one of the first measures advocated by him was a bill to provide for the removal of the Indians from east of the Mississippi River. After a bitter debate in Congress this bill was enacted into law on May 28, 1830. Immediately thereafter Jackson took steps to negotiate the necessary treaties of removal with the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes, who were subsequently removed to the area that is now Oklahoma. During these negotiations, while Jackson was trying to inveigle the Chickasaws into signing the desired treaty, he caused an address to be delivered to them at Franklin, Tennessee, on August 25, 1830, through Secretary of War Eaton, in which the President was quoted as saying that the land proposed to be set apart in the West should be theirs "as long as the grass grows and waters run". This graphic figure of speech made the desired impression on the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes, and they cherished the promise as a guarantee of tribal unity and integrity through the subsequent years.

Miss Debo's book is a record of her research in an effort to appraise the realization of the promises held out to the Indians to induce their removal. She has ranged broadly throughout the field of Indian administration and of the white man's contact with the Indians in their new home.

Conditions arose in the Indian Territory that called for a change in the land tenure of the Indians, for a regime to supersede the inadequate tribal rule of the Indians and provide a government, where none existed, for the whites who were crowding into the Indian country. To this end Congress, in 1893, provided for the appointment of a Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes—the so-called Dawes Commission. This commission negotiated with the Indians for the surrender of their communal holdings of land and the allotment in severalty of the proportionate share of each in the tribal domain. Dr. Debo's study begins with a view of the Indian land titles based on the allotments in the different tribes and their early identification with the land systems as evolved by the white men who invaded the Indian Territory to absorb the holdings of the Indians.

Dr. Debo credits the Federal administration with an honest effort to guard the tribal property from predatory private interests that at an early stage endeavored to appropriate the Indians' land for an inadequate consideration and by dishonest methods. Her book, however, demonstrates the fact that it was impossible to protect the Indians wholly against this class of white people.

The policy and aim of Congress and the administration were to prepare the Indians and their landed holdings for the setting up of a state of the Union in the fatuous expectation that this might be accomplished without prejudice to the paramount rights of the Indians, the owners at one time of the present area of that commonwealth; but the transition of this country to the state of Oklahoma, in which, in 1907, the time of statehood, the white people outnumbered the Indians nearly fifteen to one, presented such difficulties that many shocking abuses developed, and the disgraceful exploiting of the Indians became so common that the term "grafter" almost ceased to be a word of opprobrium.

Dr. Debo has marshaled her evidence in a scholarly way and supported it with meticulous documentation that carries conviction to the mind of the reader. The book contains a bibliography and an excellent index.

*Muskogee, Oklahoma.*

GRANT FOREMAN.

*Tixier's "Travels on the Osage Prairies"*. Edited by JOHN FRANCIS McDERMOTT. Translated from the French by ALBERT J. SALVAN. [American Exploration and Travel.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1940. Pp. xv, 309. \$3.00.)

Most fortunate in its author, its translator, its editor, and, well might be added, its publishers—for their work crowns the whole—the book under review is a prize indeed. It is a travel narrative and, in its original French,

came out in 1844, approximately four years after the events it describes are said to have occurred. They were the experiences of a young medical man, Victor Tixier, who, in search of health or possibly mere diversion and in the interval between passing his examinations and entering upon a professional career, took time off to visit the New World.

The title of the book is not broad enough. To mention the Osage prairies only is to ignore Louisiana, where Tixier tarried a considerable while, acquainting himself with plantation life and noting everything that came his way with the eye of a trained observer. Interspersed with remarks about trees and the like are personal judgments on men and institutions. Watching the Negro, Tixier concluded that he needed intelligence rather than freedom and that abolition might be a desirable thing at some far distant date. Were it to be forced upon reluctant states, he foresaw the breakup of the Union. With the British method of emancipation, which he evidently knew about, he made short shrift. In imagination he saw the Creole transformed into a typical American, and him he did not admire. He resented his practice of thinking that things were worth while only if they belonged to, or emanated from, America, and he abhorred his manners.

From New Orleans Tixier went to St. Louis and there conceived the idea of visiting the Osage country. This he did and with surprisingly gratifying results. Tixier's account of the Osage in village and on the hunt is the most complete we have for the period, and it surpasses all earlier or later accounts in the manner of its telling. From first to last it is a fascinating story, some of the charm of which in the English version must undoubtedly be ascribed to Mr. Salvan. For the excellence of his editorial work Mr. McDermott takes high rank. His introduction, his annotations, the illustrations, five of them Tixier's own, and the glossary, all add interest and value. From the book as a whole no one would wish anything deleted.

*Aberdeen, Washington.*

ANNIE H. ABEL HENDERSON.

*California.* By JOHN WALTON CAUGHEY, Associate Professor of History, University of California at Los Angeles. [Prentice-Hall Books on History, edited by Carl Wittke.] (New York: Prentice-Hall. 1940. Pp. xiv, 680. \$5.00 trade, \$3.75 school.)

THIS is another volume from a member of that industrious group sent into the archives of Spain by the University of California and by the Native Sons of the Golden West. The author, Dr. Caughey, takes his concept from the California school of historical writers—a concept which insists that “American history is best studied not within state or national confines but on a continental or, better still, on a hemispheric basis”. Credit for this “simple” and “revolutionary” idea is given appropriately to Dr. Bolton.

Ample space is given to incidents of local interest. Under “Liquidating the Indians” the sordid treatment of the native population by the California

authorities is justly condemned. Pen briefs such as those devoted to Diego Martínez Hordaide, George Chaffey, Henry George, and Ambrose Bierce illustrate the critical appreciation of the leadership and work of men prominent in various phases of California history. It is a pleasure to find Theodore H. Judah, the real promoter of the Central Pacific Railroad, given the credit he deserves.

Places as well as individuals have their myths. San Francisco society, as represented before the catastrophe of 1906, affords an example.

When the Earthquake and Fire wiped out so many of the material elements of these Champagne Days, the effect was to give free rein to the imagination in reminiscences about the 'city that was'! But after allowing all the bubbles to rise, there is left a heady drink that suggests a gay, volatile, open-handed society in which Victorianism was well ventilated by gusts of robust Westernism (p. 522).

Local art receives but slight attention, though literature comes in for more critical appreciation. And Californians will be pleased at finding a sane appraisal of their native state. "If the puffing and bragging have been tempered with restraint, it signifies merely the sophistication of maturity". To be sure the Franciscan fathers are much better known than the fathers of irrigation and the citrus fruit industry, and the Bear Flag movement is more famous than the founders of the University of California, but perhaps this will be corrected in time.

On the whole this is the best history of California that has been written. From "The Land and its Influence" to "The Contemporary Scene" Dr. Caughey is master of his subject, and he writes in a style which places him in the class of the chosen few. The general reader will be carried along by the easy movement of the narrative. The student will also appreciate this, but in addition he will be impressed with Dr. Caughey's familiarity with the extensive materials used and with his independence and sanity in selecting, appraising, and organizing them.

The book is provided with good maps, and the fifty carefully selected illustrations are assembled in fifteen different groups and placed at intervals throughout the volume.

Mills College.

CARDINAL GOODWIN.

*A History of Chicago.* By BESSIE LOUISE PIERCE, the University of Chicago. Volume II, *From Town to City, 1848-1871.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1940. Pp. xiii, 547, xxxiii. \$5.00.)

THE second volume of Miss Pierce's four-volume work reveals both the magnitude of her task and the nature of the goal toward which she is patiently working. The first volume, beginning in 1673, was extensive in scope, but the present volume, treating hardly more than a score of years, reveals a different pattern. One task was to record the history of the trans-

formation of a small community into a great city, without divorcing the metropolis from its hinterland. Heretofore metropolitan history has been mostly local history. That has been its great weakness. Miss Pierce's work in this respect is a significant departure. Another challenge to be met was that of analyzing the culture of a community which was singularly unstable in size and diverse in composition. Chicago during this period increased from thirty to three hundred thousand and embraced foreign born. The tempo of social change was breathless.

After studying population change Miss Pierce turns to the hinterland and its rich resources. The struggle of Chicago to capture the "inland empire" is vividly told. Superior location with reference to water and rail communication enabled it to forge ahead, and diversity of services enabled it to maintain commercial dominance despite the fact that the agricultural frontier tended to shift westward beyond its grasp. During these years the physical expansion of the city was phenomenal. Society was dynamic. "Whether rich or poor, most men in Chicago worked."

In this rampant, exploitive economy class ranks had not closed. There were labor movements and labor philosophies, but the day of labor solidarity had not arrived.

Miss Pierce deals skillfully with local politics, never, however, losing sight of the national scene. Douglas and Lincoln occupy the center of the stage, and Chicago watched both closely. Because it would not, despite Douglas, endure slavery, the metropolis, with the exception of a few elements, had broken with the Democratic party. Chicago, in accepting the antislavery impulse, exerted a large influence through its far-flung hinterland. Miss Pierce also traces the changes in the structure of city government and its efforts to regulate in the public interest at a time when men felt little concern for such matters. Bad business was the only calamity that this robust community took to heart.

In the concluding chapters the author examines the churches and the schools, the missions and the press, attitudes and reform movements. The pattern is familiar, but the action is more crowded than in an Eastern community. Chicago matured quickly. Perhaps Chicagoans would agree with Miss Pierce that "in spite of contradictions, civilization moved forward".

Miss Pierce has provided historical scholarship with a new approach to the annals of a metropolis. She relates the city to its hinterland and both to the national picture. If the hinterland of New York is the United States, as some claim, that of Chicago, at least during the period 1848-71, was the "inland empire". Considered in this light, the book is far more important for the national historian than the title suggests.

Miss Pierce has examined a tremendous amount of material; she exhibits a mastery for finding and sifting sources; and her work is replete with



painstaking documentation—the insignia of craftsmanship of a high order. With the appearance of the second volume of *A History of Chicago* we have an almost certain guarantee that Miss Pierce is in the process of making a major contribution to the writing of American history.

*Vanderbilt University.*

JOHN POMFRET.

*The Great American Myth.* By GEORGE S. BRYAN. (New York: Carrick and Evans. 1940. Pp. xii, 436. \$3.75.)

IN the uneven mass of Booth literature, much of which illustrates the ghoulish fascination of the theme rather than the competence of the authors, this book should rank above the average. It offers a welcome contrast to the sensational thrillers and pseudo histories with which the whole complex subject is clogged. If one wants to know how matters stand today concerning myths that have clustered round this most sensational of American episodes, he will do well to consult Bryan.

To summarize the book is hardly practicable. The fatal shot explodes midway in the volume. It is preceded by accounts of Washington in war-time, the plot against Lincoln which occasioned his secret night ride into Washington in February, 1861, the President's disregard of his own safety (due, thinks Bryan, to the humiliation of that night ride), the "true John Booth", and the abortive plot to kidnap the President, the one thing that could have been more sensational than killing him in a crowded theater. Following the shot, the story lingers on the confusion of assassination night. Then it proceeds through the man hunt and the identification and disposal of Booth's body to the final theme—the great American myth, by which the author seems to refer to the macabre tales of sundry pseudo-Booths, of whom the most notorious, having committed suicide in 1903, enjoyed posthumous fame as an oft-exhibited corpse.

The author's conclusions, which need not be belittled because they are not "new", are that Booth was not a broken "ham" actor made desperate by frustrated ambition, that the body brought back to Washington was Booth's, that the identification was conclusive, and that stories of the assassin's long years of prowling above ground belong in the realm of "false colors and shapes". The trial and execution of the conspirators is not handled as a chapter or episode in itself; the author's interest in the trial is centered upon the adequacy of Booth's identification. In paying his respects to minor myths, rumors, or reminiscences, Mr. Bryan effectually disposes of over two hundred pseudo pistols, of a forged handbill advertising Lincoln's appearance on the fatal night, of Laura Keene's holding of Lincoln's head, of the empty coffin at Lincoln's tomb, and of many such yarns. Other stories or theories, such as the report that Stanton cut his own throat, or that Atzerodt's plot to kill Johnson was only a blind, are not even mentioned for refutation. Where some have doubted Stanton's comment, "Now he

belongs to the ages", Bryan substantially accepts it. He admits Stanton's faults but writes: "The whole suggestion that the Secretary of War was *particeps criminis* . . . is as inapt as it is malicious" (p. 191).

Aside from the rather vague title, the book has the fault of imperfect documentation; there is considerable annotation, and the use of evidence is conscientious, but there are too many untraced quotations or statements. The bibliography does not list manuscript collections; the author merely mentions various libraries (pp. 394-95) in an enumeration of "persons" to whom he is indebted. One cannot tell, for example, whether the Holt Manuscripts in the Library of Congress or other important collections have been personally searched by the author. The investigation, however, is competent and the criticism sound. As the jacket informs us, Mr. Bryan had access to previously unused material, especially the John T. Ford Papers. Without being emotionally exciting, the volume is readable; that it is not sensationally dramatic is fortunate.

*University of Illinois.*

J. G. RANDALL.

*The Swiss in the United States.* JOHN PAUL VON GRUENINGEN, Editor.

[The Swiss-American Historical Society.] (Madison: the Society. 1940.

Pp. 153. \$2.00.)

THIS work is a statistical survey of the native Swiss population in the United States since 1850, or more precisely since 1870. It records most minutely the distribution of the Swiss throughout the United States, by states and counties, illustrated by carefully prepared maps. Interesting is the greater Swiss concentration in the states of California (including a considerable Ticino group) and New York, their larger numbers in the northern than in the southern latitudes, their prominence in certain industries and professions, as dairying, cheesemaking, viticulture, engineering, electro-technics. Historically the Swiss immigrants were not exclusively farmers seeking free land or tradesmen in the cities but were found in a great variety of professions and well distributed over the entire area of the United States, just as the German stock, to which they were intimately related by blood, language, and culture. Often associated by choice in the same settlements, their history overlaps with that of the German element, showing similarly a rise and fall in their immigrations before and after 1900. The peak of native Swiss population in the United States was reached in 1910 at 124,848, declining to 113,010 in 1930.

The title of the book might lead the unwary to expect a comprehensive picture of the Swiss throughout the history of the United States. But the earlier history is not taken into account, although the Swiss immigrations in the eighteenth century, though not numerically as large as in later times, counted for more in the smaller colonial population (*cf. Am. Hist. Rev.*,

XXII, 21-44). We may assume that the Swiss-American Historical Association has left this greater task of an all-inclusive history to be accomplished at some future time.

The present volume includes two revealing chapters on the pioneer history of New Helvetia before and after the gold rush: the diary of Heinrich Lienhard and a sketch of the life of Samuel Kyburz, both trusted friends and aids of General John Augustus Sutter. The diary gives a faithful account of the hazards and hardships in 1846 of an overland journey in covered wagons from Independence, Missouri, to Sutter's Fort in California via the dangerous Hastings cutoff through the Great Salt Desert; descendants of the sturdy pioneer Kyburz survive in Eldorado County (Placerville), the land of gold and pines. The volume also contains an informing statistical chapter on the Italian Swiss in California, some critical comments on Steinach's *Geschichte und Leben der schweizer Kolonien in den Vereinigten Staaten* (1889), and a final chapter on Swiss church leaders and their American Indian missions.

Cornell University.

ALBERT B. FAUST.

*Frontiers of the Northwest: A History of the Upper Missouri Valley.* By HAROLD E. BRIGGS, Professor of History, University of Miami, Coral Gables, Florida. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1940. Pp. xiv, 629. \$5.00.)

It was a good idea to write a history of the upper Missouri Valley, a history covering the whole sweep of the last frontier: mining, buffalo hunting, cattle ranching, sheepherding, and farming. But there are great gaps in the treatment by Professor Briggs. He has given almost no attention to the physical environment—after living in the region and reading Webb! References to the Indians and the railroad, certainly two major factors in the history of this area, are scattered and casual. Besides, why not go back a step before the miner and take in the fur trader?

I could not be expected to be too critical of the treatment of "The Frontier of Cattle" in view of its close correlation with certain of my own writings. The relationship in some cases is made obvious by the most casual reading. Compare, for example, pages 243-45 of Professor Briggs's text with pages 126-29 of my article on "That Hard Winter in Montana, 1886-1887" (*Agricultural History*, IV, Oct., 1930). Briggs does not cite this article in this section of his book. He makes one bad slip, as a comparison of two passages shows. My article reads on page 128:

Many cattlemen abandoned the game entirely—the bankruptcy of Alec Swan, the Wyoming cattle king, had a depressing effect. The most dramatic débâcle was the failure of the great Niobrara Cattle Company. In the spring of 1886 that concern estimated that it had 39,000 fat cattle, supposed to be worth a million dollars. In 1887 their liabilities amounted to \$350,000 and

at their June roundup all they could show to meet these liabilities was 9,000 head valued nominally at only \$250,000 and actually worth much less.

In support of these statements I cited *Fergus County Argus*, October 27, 1887, and *Weekly Yellowstone Journal*, October 15 and 22, 1887. Briggs writes on page 243: "Alex Swan, one of the 'cattle kings' of Wyoming, who in the spring of 1886 had twenty-nine thousand fat cattle for which he is said to have been offered a million dollars, in the June roundup had nine thousand cattle to meet \$350,000 of liabilities, and went into bankruptcy." He cites no authority. Through careless transcription he applies my figures (except that 29,000 is substituted for 39,000) from the *Argus* and the *Journal* to Swan instead of to the Niobrara Cattle Company. The items referred to in these periodicals deal with the Niobrara Company and do not mention Swan. Louis Pelzer (*The Cattlemen's Frontier*, Glendale, 1936, p. 143) gives figures on the Swan holdings which are greatly at variance with the ones thus misapplied by Professor Briggs.

Equally revealing errors appear on page 305. Briggs's discussion on this page of the decline in size of Custer County, Montana, herds is merely a rearrangement of my own account of the same subject published on pages 210-11 of my article on "The End of the Open Range in Eastern Montana", *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XVI (Sept., 1929). Unfortunately Briggs got two basic dates wrong! A complete year-by-year table of the number of herds according to size, a table which I prepared from the records, will be found in the appendix of my manuscript, "History of the Range Cattle Business in Eastern Montana", in the United States Department of Agriculture. The author indicates in footnotes at some other points and in the bibliography that he has used this manuscript. He does not appear to know, however, that the final chapter of it was printed in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* as the article I have just referred to.

The author has classified me in the bibliography (p. 598) as a "contemporary" of Horace Greeley, Phil Sheridan, and Henry Villard. Perhaps this explains why he has helped himself so liberally to my material.

The first four parts, on mining, the buffalo, cattle, and sheep, constitute definitely the better portion of the book. The latter part, on "Settlement" and agriculture, is a confused and apparently hastily assembled collection of notes. The author gives no footnote citations to the important earlier works of Hedges, Hicks, and Dick, and neither of the first two of these is listed in the bibliography.

This book, nevertheless, despite its shortcomings, will be read and used, because it tells, with generally sympathetic appreciation and in more detail than it has been told before, the epic story of the development of the upper Missouri Valley. It is an attractive volume; judicious use has been made of illustrations. The maps, unfortunately, are quite inadequate.

Oberlin College.

ROBERT SAMUEL FLETCHER.

*The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism, 1865-1915.* By CHARLES HOWARD HOPKINS. [Yale Studies in Religious Education.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1940. Pp. xii, 352. \$3.00.)

IT is heartening to find historians giving increasing attention to the history of social movements. No movement has been more significant in the development of American civilization than the rise of the so-called social gospel. Dr. Hopkins traces this movement with meticulous care from 1865 to 1915. His book is so scholarly, so well documented, and so interesting that it seems ungracious to make any criticism of it whatsoever. Indeed, any criticism that is made must be of a minor character, which this reviewer would say in advance in no wise detracts from the merit and the value of the work.

The first criticism may well concern the headings of the parts of the book, such as "The Birth of Social Christianity", "The Social Gospel comes of Age", and "Maturity and Recognition". The critical student of American civilization will perhaps be repelled by these headings because they seem to indicate an uncritical attitude toward the movement which is traced. It is doubtful, for example, whether the social gospel did, as is alleged, "come of age" in the decade 1890-1900.

Again, the birth of social Christianity is hardly dealt with adequately. The author, to be sure, recognizes that social religion is older than the Christian movement itself and that its roots, so far as historical Christianity is concerned, are to be found in the later Jewish prophets. But, strangely enough, he overlooks the influence on American Protestantism of the rise of the sociological movement. While he has a chapter on "Sociology in the Service of Religion", this deals with the stage of "Maturity and Recognition" from 1900 to 1915. The influence of Claude Henri de Saint-Simon's *Nouveau christianisme*, which in 1825 demanded a social application of Christ's teachings, and of Auguste Comte, with his religion of humanity, is not mentioned. In fact, their names do not occur in the index of the book. The author may perhaps say that they are outside the scope of his work; yet he pays attention to the influence of Sir John R. Seeley's *Ecce Homo* and the work of other British writers. Indeed, in spite of the generous recognition of the influence of sociology in Part IV, it must be said that in the book as a whole there is inadequate notice of the influence of the sociological movement. This is perhaps one reason why the book fails to expose adequately the sources of the thought of many of the leaders who are discussed.

For example, the author mentions the doctor's thesis of Dr. W. W. Elwang on *The Social Function of Religious Belief*, which was produced in my seminar in the University of Missouri in 1904-1905. It was essentially a critical restatement, with additional supporting evidence, of ideas derived from Lester F. Ward, Benjamin Kidd, and Henry Rutgers Marshall. My own paper on "The Social Function of Religion" (1913), also mentioned by

Dr. Hopkins, was scarcely anything more, except that in the interval an important work had been published (1910) on *The Psychology of Religious Experience* by Edward Scribner Ames, the significance of which seems to have escaped Dr. Hopkins. All this the author fails to point out.

All such criticism may perhaps be regarded as unfair, for the purpose of the book is manifestly expository and descriptive rather than philosophical. But Dr. Hopkins continually speaks of the rise of the social gospel as the reaction of American Protestantism to the industrial revolution as it developed in the United States in the latter half of the nineteenth century; and so it was, but upon the basis of prevalent scientific and philosophical ideas the existence of which the author generally fails to mention.

Finally, the author does not deal adequately with the shortcomings of the movement. He fails to point out that the entanglement of the social gospel with political socialism was probably one cause of its later decline; that the social gospel failed to see social evils deeper than those it exposed; that war and group hatreds, for example, are more antithetical to the teachings of Christ than economic competition. But these evils became manifest chiefly after 1915. It is to be hoped, therefore, that Dr. Hopkins will favor us in the near future with a book on the decline of the social gospel from 1915 to 1940.

Duke University.

CHARLES A. ELLWOOD.

*The Foreign Policy of Thomas F. Bayard, 1885-1897.* By CHARLES CALLAN TANSILL, Professor of American History, Fordham University. (New York: Fordham University Press. 1940. Pp. xxxix, 800. \$5.00.)

THE author of the present biography has made discriminating and intelligent use of the voluminous materials, printed and manuscript, which his painstaking diligence has brought within his reach. At the outset I may remark that there never was any question of Delaware's seceding from the Union. The legislature met in regular session on January 1, 1861, and on January 3 the house of representatives unanimously adopted a joint resolution, in which, as my father drew and offered it, I cherish a particular personal interest, declaring, in the name of the people, its "unqualified disapproval" of secession as a "remedy for existing difficulties", and on January 8 this resolution was returned with the senate's concurrence. On the other hand, in combating, in the name of the Constitution and the Union, the policy of so-called "reconstruction", Bayard and his people were, as by a common instinct, in perfect accord.

When at length a Democratic President was installed, it was natural that Bayard should be the head of the cabinet. I am not inclined to think that Cleveland, in preferring Manning for the post of Secretary of the Treasury, was moved by any antagonism to Bayard, especially as the Secretary

of State is the cabinet's ranking member. Not only was Manning well qualified for the post to which he was assigned, but, with the subsidence of the division between the North and the South and the concomitant decline of the assumption that the Republican party had, by "saving the Union", acquired a proprietary right to govern it, questions of foreign relations were again forging to the front. Particularly was this the case with Great Britain. With the expiration of the pertinent clauses of the Treaty of Washington of May 8, 1871, the old controversy concerning the North Atlantic fisheries was revived; various questions relating to Alaska were just in the offing, and there was obvious need of a more comprehensive arrangement for the extradition of criminals; but of all these matters the most urgent was that of the North Atlantic fisheries.

In November, 1887, after a period of harassing controversy, there met in Washington a Joint High Commission for the purpose of negotiating a comprehensive settlement. The American commissioners were Mr. Bayard, Secretary of State, William L. Putnam of Maine, and James B. Angell of Michigan. The British commissioners were Joseph Chamberlain, Sir Charles Tupper of Nova Scotia, and Sir Lionel West. A treaty was signed on February 15, 1888. On February 20 President Cleveland transmitted it to the Senate with an explanatory message, which unfortunately concluded with the recommendation that it be at once made public, which meant that it should also be discussed in public session. It thus immediately became a political football of the first magnitude, and the game naturally ended with the treaty's rejection. Professor Tansill quotes a letter from Mr. Putnam to Mr. Bayard of August 8, 1888, saying that the President ought to send a message throwing the whole responsibility on the Senate, and from this alone the inference naturally would be drawn that the message sent by the President to the Senate on August 23, recommending as an act of retaliation the termination of the bonded transit system and the restriction of commercial privileges of Canadian vessels navigating the Great Lakes and the canals connecting them, followed the lines of Putnam's suggestion. But this is by no means the case. In speaking of throwing the responsibility on Canada, Putnam had no such thing in mind. He was then the Democratic candidate for the governorship of Maine, and, as he afterwards wrote me, he felt that he had satisfied his people that the treaty was well made and in their interest. This fair prospect was destroyed by the President's message, as it was not clear to the people why the rejection of a good treaty by the Senate should subject Canada to retaliatory measures. In reality neither Mr. Bayard nor anyone else in the State Department had anything to do, directly or indirectly, with the retaliatory message. It was prepared in the office of William C. Whitney, Secretary of the Navy. I came to know this by the almost exclusive use, in its preparation, of materials derived from a volume which an expert draftsman in the Navy Depart-



ment, whom I knew well and who was close to Whitney, borrowed from me. The volume was returned with a note of thanks, which was promptly illuminated by the President's retaliatory message.

Of Bayard's mission to England, where he was the first American representative to hold the rank of ambassador, the present volume gives a comprehensive and detailed account. It was not an easy position, and its difficulties were greatly intensified by Cleveland's message on the Venezuelan boundary. Olney's inclination to take what appeared to be a bold and defiant stand probably was intensified by the somewhat instinctive antagonism between him and his predecessor in the Department of State, Otto Q. Gresham. Gresham, the man from the West, perhaps somewhat instinctively distrusted certain "Yankee" traits which Olney exemplified, while Olney had little patience with the liberalism that had led the Westerner to abandon the Republican party and support Cleveland for the presidency. Olney, before Gresham's death, had impressed Cleveland with the notion that neither Gresham nor Bayard was sufficiently aggressive, and he had prepared for Cleveland a memorandum the contents of which he afterwards embodied in the note which, as Secretary of State, he sent to London. In reality Sir T. H. Sanderson of the British Foreign Office had, in 1890, offered to a special representative of Venezuela in London a settlement that would have given to Venezuela all to which she was entitled. But Guzman Blanco's situation was then such that, deeming it desirable to make a patriotic demonstration, he rejected the offer and terminated the negotiations. To an expert geographer who understood the subject, it was not difficult to tell where the line should properly run, and by the arbitration that was eventually held Venezuela gained less than what might have been voluntarily conceded to her.

Into all the phases of the present biography I have not undertaken to enter. The author has been minute in his investigations, and what he has written covers the entire field. He has made a distinct and authoritative contribution to our history.

*New York City.*

JOHN BASSETT MOORE.

*Presidential Elections, from Abraham Lincoln to Franklin D. Roosevelt.*

By CORTEZ A. M. EWING. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1940. Pp. xiii, 226. \$2.50.)

PROFESSOR Ewing confines his attention to the period of seventy-five years that began in 1864. Apparently he does so because the period has been characterized, from the standpoint of our parties, by interest in the functions of government rather than its form. Yet this is a statistical study that has little or nothing to do with campaign issues. Statistics dominate the text; they also appear in numerous graphs and tables, which add much to the value of the book and will be permanently useful. In a chapter on the

electoral college, graphs show, for the whole period, the electoral vote by parties, the popular vote per electoral vote by parties, and sectional percentages of national vote effectiveness; and the tables deal with such matters as sectional aspects of the electoral vote and wasted popular votes. Congressional elections are ignored deliberately, one reason being (we are told) that in the off-years they so frequently run counter to the general trend. The omission is regrettable. An analysis of off-year elections might have shown that they do possess great significance. Whenever a party loses control of the House, for example, it loses control of the presidency two years later.

This book has obvious merits. It also suffers from occasional defects. Even a casual reading discloses too many inaccuracies. Figures given for the Populist vote of 1892, the Wilson vote of 1916, and the Hoover vote of 1932 find no support in the authorities upon whom Dr. Ewing professes to rely. It is not true that the South alone stood staunchly behind Parker in 1904; as a matter of fact Kentucky gave the Democrats a plurality larger by 50 per cent than in 1900; and Maryland swung to the Democratic column. From a list of the states that, before 1920, gave women the "presidential" suffrage twelve states are left out. In a chapter on the mission of minor parties it is said that "fundamental alterations in the major-party platforms result from the adoption of minor-party policies". Such a statement requires proof; but no proof of any kind is offered. To say that, through the activity of the Anti-Saloon League, the efforts and faith of the Prohibition party were rewarded or that the Populists were largely responsible for the adoption of the initiative and referendum in a number of states is scarcely apposite. "To facilitate an understanding of the clash of parties", the country is divided into five sections. The result seems to make for confusion rather than understanding. Thus, Oklahoma becomes a part of the South because she would have seceded if she had been a state in 1861, and because there is some mysterious connection between "cotton" psychology and Democratic allegiance! According to several well-established criteria Oklahoma is a border state; and, curiously enough, the author's analysis of voting behavior (p. 105) helps to make this clear. •

Pomona College.

EDWARD MCCHESENEY SAIT.

*The President Makers: The Culture of Politics and Leadership in an Age of Enlightenment, 1896-1919.* By MATTHEW JOSEPHSON. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1940. Pp. viii, 584. \$3.75.)

THIS is a study in biography, as the title indicates, rather than economic, social, diplomatic, or even political history. Mr. Josephson believes that in the years 1896-1919 "the central events and issues assumed a political form" and that a generation seeking what Herbert Croly termed "the Promise of American Life" toiled in one of the most enlightened and humane periods

of which we have knowledge. He writes this narrative and interpretation of the rulers in this period, and particularly of the most conspicuous leaders, confining himself for the most part to those who appeared in political life or interested themselves in politics.

Book I, in which the President Makers are Hanna and Lodge, is dominated by the personality of Theodore Roosevelt; Book II, in which House and Bryan are behind the scenes, is built around the figure of Woodrow Wilson. In space given, House ranks with Roosevelt, Wilson, Bryan, and La Follette; Hanna and Lodge rank with Taft and Aldrich. The author has drawn upon the manuscripts of William Jennings Bryan, Henry Cabot Lodge, Theodore Roosevelt, Elihu Root, and Henry White, all in the Library of Congress, and also upon other private collections, such as that of Amos Pinchot. He has talked with many of the participants, among them Louis D. Brandeis, Gifford Pinchot, and members of La Follette's family. He cites approximately one hundred published volumes, including memoirs and letters. All of this shows clearly that much labor and careful thought have been devoted to ascertaining the facts.

The method of Mr. Josephson is most effectively chosen in his chapter on "The Politics of Reform"; and it is much the best synthesis we have, nearer the whole truth than previous accounts of Bowers and Pringle. Such testimony as that of Henry C. Frick on Roosevelt's conduct in 1904 must, in this reviewer's opinion, be used with great care. It suggests the "loose talk" used when men unburden themselves in private conversation. It has not an equal value with considered statement. The footnote as to the "brain trust" may be questioned. Also this reviewer questions the conclusions drawn as to the continued popularity of Theodore Roosevelt, that is, until the end of his term as President, and the decline in his prestige after 1909 and particularly after 1913. The political public had witnessed those years; but they had seen only the public show; they had seen Roosevelt deal with his enemies in public; later they came to realize that it was only part of the story. They saw him fighting within the party. The author shows this more clearly than anyone has yet done, and why it was so.

There is an effective evenness of judgment in the author's treatment of the giants, Roosevelt and Wilson; there are bits of caustic sarcasm in the final impressions given of Morgan and Aldrich and Taft and Hanna; there are more than glimpses of approval (amid some disapproval) in the pictures of Brandeis, George Record, Amos Pinchot, and, most of all, La Follette. The evidence as presented shows La Follette in a more favorable light than Wilson or Roosevelt or House or Bryan. Perhaps one reason for this is the fact that the author does not indicate that he conceives of a vital difference between formulating a program of principles and acting in a world of political decision.

Some commentators upon previous studies of Mr. Josephson have done him a disservice. It was implied that he was engaged in a crusade, and its

violence was supposed to raise him to a place of public importance. Yet it is amply clear in this study that it is a penetrating intelligence, a keen sense of human values, and a very real sense of the drama of American politics that have won for the author the growing attention of thoughtful readers. He is strongest in his treatment of personalities; but he has definitely contributed to the understanding of party struggles in Congress. He is weakest in his grasp and treatment of the forces that sweep the nation at election time. But that might be dealt with in a volume on those who failed to make Presidents, for example those who backed La Follette and Bryan.

*Stanford University.*

EDGAR EUGENE ROBINSON.

*Diplomatically Speaking.* By LLOYD C. GRISCOM. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1940. Pp. viii, 476. \$3.50.)

THIS is the most entertaining diplomatic memoir that the reviewer has ever read and the least valuable to the historian. With the exception of the chapters on the World War, it is a travel-book type of autobiography replete with gaiety and sparkle and full of interesting facets of social life in the countries where the narrator represented the United States. It deserves a best seller's sale.

Lloyd Griscom was a rich man's son, born with a silver spoon in his mouth, who went to school in the United States and abroad and thus got hold of the most useful languages in his boyhood. Later he managed to graduate from the University of Pennsylvania. Thanks to the Griscom family's social connections and wealth, young Lloyd got a place as the private secretary of Thomas F. Bayard, the first ambassador of the United States to the Court of St. James. This was his first initiation into diplomacy, and he reveled in the amenities of British social life. Coming home with Mr. Bayard, Lloyd Griscom accompanied his friend, Richard Harding Davis, and a third youth, an Englishman by the name of Henry Somers Somerset, on a journalistic wild-goose chase to Central America. Back in New York, he went in and out of the law, managing to pass the examinations for the bar of that state. Next he had experiences in the Far West of the United States, including an unsuccessful youthful business venture. When the Spanish war broke out, he went home to volunteer. Without the slightest military experience, because the adjutant general, Henry C. Corbin, "was a great friend of father's", he secured a commission as captain in the quartermaster corps. He campaigned in Cuba and survived the terrible epidemics of yellow fever and malaria, gaining an immunity which stood him in good stead in after life. After the war he decided to go back to diplomacy for a while and got introductions to John Hay from the two senators from Pennsylvania who were "good friends of father's" in that golden age. "In the meantime, I had made another friend in the person of the all-powerful Senator from Ohio, Mark Hanna, who was heart and soul with father in building up the merchant marine." As a result Griscom

secured the appointment of secretary of legation at Constantinople. After that his rise was rapid. Soon he was *chargé d'affaires* at Constantinople, then envoy extraordinary to Persia, then minister to Japan during the Russo-Japanese War, minister to Brazil at the time of Elihu Root's visit to Rio de Janeiro, and finally, at the age of thirty-four, ambassador to Italy, where his most vivid experience and helpful offices were his services in organizing relief after the terrible earthquake at Messina. At the end of President Taft's administration Mr. Griscom retired from the diplomatic service and entered the practice of law in New York City.

Entertaining as are the innumerable anecdotes and travel experiences and court scenes and Oriental tales of potentates and princes, there is little revelation of diplomatic history in this sprightly narrative. For example, although Mr. Griscom was minister to Japan during the Russo-Japanese War, we learn nothing of the diplomacy of the Anglo-Japanese alliance, its relation to Anglo-American affairs, the famous Taft-Katsura Memorandum, or the inner history of the mediation by the United States to end the war. Griscom as a diplomatist apparently never handled any major chapter of American diplomacy.

During the World War Mr. Griscom, with a modicum of military experience and a great deal of diplomatic experience, served as major in the American Expeditionary Forces, and it was in the guise of a soldier that his greatest service as a diplomatist occurred: as liaison officer between General Pershing and the British War Office, Major Griscom very effectively smoothed the way between the bickering Allies and by his personal efforts furthered co-operation between Great Britain and the United States. In doing so he materially contributed to the winning of the war in the autumn of 1918 instead of 1919. It might even be said that his services in this way served, by shortening the war, to save the lives of hundreds of thousands of American and Allied soldiers. One cannot read his final chapter on the end of the war and his return to New York without a surge of patriotic emotion.

*Yale University.*

SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS.

*Across the Busy Years: Recollections and Reflections.* By NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER, President of Columbia University. Volume II. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1940. Pp. x, 474. \$3.75.)

PRESIDENT Butler's second volume of reminiscences, in addition to being good reading, contains numerous footnotes, little and big, to contemporary history.

The author's lifelong interest in peace among nations early brought him into association with others of like mind and then made him either an intimate observer of, or a part of, practically all of the peace efforts from the time of the first Hague Conference and the Lake Mohonk Conferences on International Arbitration down through the early overtures from France

which eventuated in the Pact of Paris. Having persuaded Andrew Carnegie to establish the famous Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Dr. Butler became the director of its division of intercourse and education, which, in turn, exercised a profound influence in shaping the postwar peace movement in the United States, especially in the colleges and universities. Carried along by the spirit which seemed to inspire the Pact of Locarno, he suggested to Briand in June, 1926, a treaty for the renunciation of "war as an instrument of national policy", the phrase having been taken from the almost century-old *Vom Kriege* by Clausewitz. Later, in the *New York Times* and in the Department of State he promoted the suggestion which he had prompted and then even carried to the department a draft treaty, the work of Joseph P. Chamberlain and James T. Shotwell, which eventuated in the Pact of Paris. The time is ripe for a thorough and critical review of the modern peace movement. For such a study Dr. Butler has provided some important raw material. Of all of his suggestions for the stabilization of the world, and Dr. Butler has a very fertile mind, one of the most remarkable was that Italy should acquire the Portuguese colonies in Africa, a suggestion made to Mussolini and promptly frowned upon by Britain.

Of the many items of minor historical interest the one likely to provoke the most discussion has to do with the authorship of the famous Bixby letter. Dr. Butler records that in 1912 John Morley told him in London that in 1904 John Hay had stated confidentially that he was in fact the author of the letter which bears Lincoln's signature and which has long been accepted as an example of superlative English composition as well as illustrative of Lincoln at his best. The Morley statement is the only known claim put forward by Hay to the authorship. The facsimile of the original, which has never been found, reveals a chirography which might have been either Lincoln's or Hay's, but, while the latter is not known ever to have denied the authorship, the Morley statement, eight years after the conversation, requires some further confirmation.

Of greater interest to students of European history, with which Butler's book mainly deals, are his notes on the origin of the famous Haldane Mission to Germany (1906), the highly confidential constitutional conferences in London (1910), and the origin of the phrase "British Commonwealth of Nations" (1921).

In the summer of 1906 President Butler brought back to London, after a visit with the kaiser, a statement that the latter was greatly annoyed because the British government neglected to send distinguished leaders to Germany. The kaiser regarded the omission as little less than insulting. Butler reported this to Campbell-Bannerman, Asquith, Grey, and Haldane. It was immediately decided to send Haldane, who alone in the cabinet at that time spoke German. The constitutional conferences had to do with the political questions that were eventually solved by the Parliament Bill of 1911 in which, under threat to create additional peers, the House of Lords

assented to the provisions which established the supremacy of the House of Commons. President Butler's contribution to the secret preliminary discussions was a statement, furnished by request of Asquith, of the experience and procedure in the United States, where there have arisen seemingly irreconcilable differences between the Senate and the House of Representatives. Butler was also present at Chequers in July, 1921, at the time of the meeting of the Imperial Conference, when the prime ministers of Australia, New Zealand, and Canada agreed to the phrase, later incorporated in the Statute of Westminster, the "British Commonwealth of Nations". It is to be inferred from the text of the autobiography that the word "commonwealth" as it now appears in the British constitution was either borrowed from the American usage or accepted by Hughes of Australia in part as a result of the persuasion of President Butler.

Autobiographies are always difficult and usually self-conscious when they are not full of vanity. President Butler escapes both the one and the other. It would be difficult for most men to have recorded themselves as actors in any one of a hundred episodes such as have been commonplace in Butler's extraordinary life without obvious or obviously restrained egoism. In the volume under review the reader passes rapidly from one to another of these incidents until it becomes a matter of course that whenever important affairs were being discussed or were taking shape, Nicholas Murray Butler would not be far away. For more than threescore years he has had an unerring sense to be in the right place at the right time. It would be difficult and probably impossible to name another American who, never in government office, has exercised so varied and so effective an influence on affairs both national and international. As for the cause of peace, now is not the time to decide whether Dr. Butler was right as to the measures he advocated from time to time, or whether the measures adopted were so inherently unsound as to have set back the cause they sought to advance. If posterity were to reach the latter conclusion, it would have to be noted that alternative measures of a constructive sort were rarely set forth and that it was, indeed, a very distinguished company of men among whom Dr. Butler's advice was welcomed.

*Hague, New York.*

TYLER DENNETT.

*Chester Noyes Greenough.* By RUTH HORNBLOWER GREENOUGH. Volume I, *An Account of his Life as Teacher, Dean, Master, & Scholar.* Volume II, *Collected Studies*, with an Introduction by WILBUR CORTEZ ABBOTT. (Cambridge: Harvard Coöperative Society, Distributors. 1940. Pp. xvi, 335; xi, 303. Vol. I \$3.50, Vol. II \$2.50, the set \$5.00.)

CHESTER Noyes Greenough was admirably fitted by heredity, training, and temperament for his long years of service to Harvard College—as director of the compulsory English composition course ("English A") from 1910



to 1918, as dean of the college from 1921 to 1927, and as the first master of Dunster House from its opening in 1930 to 1934. If these duties diverted him from the important tasks of teaching and productive scholarship, it was because "steadfast fidelity to the task at hand for Harvard College, with a zest in the doing of it, was his most conspicuous quality". The story of his life and his varied services to Harvard is gracefully recorded in these two beautifully printed and illustrated volumes, written and edited by his wife.

A solid New England ancestry of "seven to ten generations", with a strong mixture of clerical and academic forbears, provided an impeccable background for a gentlemanly career in New England's first university. As a boy Greenough adopted Emersonian rules of conduct and adhered to them with conscious rectitude throughout his life. "Those who were closest to him never knew him to deviate from them, so deeply were they grooved into his way of life" (I, 28). It is perhaps no accident that he felt himself drawn to the study of Addison. If he was often likened to the perfect eighteenth century gentleman, his spirit was more akin to the virtuous Addison than to the more wayward personalities of Swift and Pope and Dr. Johnson. As teacher he was indefatigable in helping the young to cultivate an urbane and graceful style or to appreciate the beauties of eighteenth century literature. As dean he employed all his resources of tact and fairness to "set boys right" and to smooth the sometimes difficult transition from preparatory school to Harvard College. But it was as master of Dunster House that the combination of gentleman and scholar shone brightest. Here, whether it was presiding at a dinner for the president of the college or chiding an erring student for abuse of the house library privileges, the same unfailing combination of charm and fairness was apparent.

These forty years of activity at Harvard were broken only by two interludes—an absence of three years in the wilds of the Midwest, where he served as head of the department of English at the University of Illinois; and a shorter period during the war, when he brought his gifts for organization and method to the service of the Shipping Board in Washington. But it was in the academic milieu of Harvard that he did his best work, and the scores of tributes reproduced in the biography—from grateful students and admiring assistants—give evidence of the success which crowned his labors. Here "C.N.G." carried out his duties with a rare combination of high seriousness and personal modesty, and his name will long be remembered by a grateful alma mater.

Though Greenough made no major contribution to scholarship, he contributed a number of learned and solid papers to scholarly and antiquarian journals, and some of the best of these are reprinted in the companion volume of *Collected Studies*. These range from ancient worthies like Nicholas Breton and John Dunton to such moderns as Barrett Wendell and

John Galsworthy. A typical paper is the one which he read before the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1921 on "The 'Character' as a Source of Information for the Historian", in which Greenough's gifts of lucidity, order, and charm are all brought into play. The "character" and its utilization in eighteenth century prose fiction increasingly attracted Greenough, and upon his retirement from the mastership of Dunster House in 1934 he planned to devote the rest of his life to a book on the subject, for which he had collected material and fiches for many years. This hope was not to be realized. But "C.N.G." had perhaps given greater services in his varied capacities as teacher, dean, master, and friend—services which are appropriately commemorated in these two handsome volumes.

*University of Chicago.*

DONALD F. BOND.

*Pioneer Black Robes on the West Coast.* By PETER MASTEN DUNNE. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1940. Pp. xiii, 286. \$3.00.)

In a world overfilled, as ours is today, with militant malice it is a precious relief to read of military exploits and conquests designed for the benefit and exaltation of men. This book describes vividly and movingly a little-known portion of the centuries-long campaign of the Society of Jesus for the salvation of human beings from the blackness of ignorance and the hopelessness of superstition.

One should never forget, in considering the activities of the Jesuits, that the Society of Jesus was primarily and fundamentally an army, an army built up to defend and to strengthen and to enlarge the realm of Holy Mother Church, an army whose chief purpose was that of rescuing the unenlightened from their heathendom and of bringing them into the fold of Christianity. Nearly every part of the world has witnessed at one time or another the labors of Jesuit missionaries, sometimes successful and long-lasting, sometimes not so.

In the present volume the story is told of accomplishments by the Jesuits in northwestern Mexico between 1591 and 1632. This portion of Jesuit history is far less well known to most of us than is either the history of the society in Mexico proper or that of the church in our California at later periods. Here, however, it is fully and graphically related, with many telling passages of prose, well reasoned and well documented, and with many admirable pictures illustrative of the theme.

Compared with Jesuit architecture in, for example, Paraguay or in Ecuador, Peru, or the central parts of Mexico, the architecture of the Jesuits in the region here discussed was modest, not to say humble. This was the result not only of the thin native population dealt with and of their lowly native cultural status but also of the remoteness of the field from metropolitan foci and of the small number, twenty-seven in 1624, of missionaries

engaged in the work. Yet between 1591 and 1631 over 150,000 conversions to Christianity were made by the pioneer Jesuits in that distant part of the viceroyalty of New Spain. Moreover, that these conversions were very often much more than merely superficial is made evident by many passages in this admirable book, notably that on pages 95 and 96.

Full notes, a good bibliography, and an excellent index complete the volume and make it a lastingly important contribution to the history of Christian missions among native American peoples. It is a pleasure to recommend it very highly both to students and general readers.

Pomfret, Connecticut.

PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS.

*First Expedition of Vargas into New Mexico, 1692.* Translated, with Introduction and Notes, by J. MANUEL ESPINOSA, Assistant Professor of History, Loyola University (Chicago). [Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications.] (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1940. Pp. x, 319. \$4.00.)

*Diego de Vargas and the Reconquest of New Mexico.* By JESSIE BROMILOW BAILEY. (*Ibid.* Pp. 290. \$3.50.)

IN connection with the celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of the explorations of Coronado, the University of New Mexico, under the editorship of Dr. George P. Hammond, planned a series of volumes to portray more fully the history of New Mexico during the Spanish colonial regime. The *First Expedition of Vargas into New Mexico*, by Dr. J. Manuel Espinosa, appears as Volume X of the Coronado historical series but is the second to be published. It contains an introduction sketching briefly the life of Don Diego de Vargas Zapata Lujan Ponce de León, the reconqueror of New Mexico, and a translation of documents covering his activities from August 16, 1692, to January 12, 1693. The documents give a day-by-day account of the expedition since on this occasion Vargas with meticulous care had statements prepared of the daily happenings, which were duly signed by himself and others. In these entries the story can be traced of the march into New Mexico, of the visits to the various pueblos, of the subjection of the natives to Spanish rule, and of the recovery of the sacred objects removed from the churches. It is the account of a daring exploit, effected without bloodshed. Although the translation follows closely the seventeenth century Spanish in its phraseology, rather than being cast into literary English, it serves to present the picture of the events adequately. Numerous Spanish terms, difficult to translate, are retained, but no glossary explaining them is given.

The bulk of the volume consists of certified copies (*testimonios*) of the extensive records (*autos*) covering the periods from August 16 to October 16, 1692, and from October 16, 1692, to January 12, 1693 (documents 2 and 3). It is rather unfortunate that the exact nature of the various copies of

these records is not fully indicated. Both documents are referred to as "originals" in the footnotes; the copies in Mexico and Seville, however, are not originals but certified copies. Document 2 apparently is translated from the Mexican copy which is certified by Alphonso Rael de Aguilar. This translation covers folios 278-455 v. of the certified copy (consisting of 510 folios) of the record of the activities of Vargas in connection with the search, in 1691 and 1692, for a quicksilver mine and of the expedition for the reconquest of New Mexico, which was sent to Spain by Viceroy Conde de Galve with his letter of January 8, 1693. Document 3 appears with the same certification as document 2, but the source is given as the Archivo General de Indias. It comprises folios 64-278 v. of the *testimonio* of 379 folios which is certified by Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora and which was transmitted to Spain with the viceroy's letter of May 20, 1693. Four additional short documents complete the text. A portrait of Vargas is included, and the presentation of the volume is of the highest character.

*Diego de Vargas and the Reconquest of New Mexico*, by Jessie Bromilow Bailey, covers the same period as the Espinosa volume and extends the story to the end of the career of Vargas. This is a doctoral dissertation that is little more than a running summary of the documents relating to the deeds of Vargas, which are found in Volumes 37, 38, and 39 of the collection *Historia* of the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico. Extensive quotations from the documents are given in translations. In these many Spanish terms are retained, and there are occasional renditions which are not clear. Just why the author calls Vargas "the Napoleon of the Southwest" is not apparent. The achievements of the two men hardly present such parallels as to make the phrase pertinent. A list of the manuscripts used and a bibliography are included.

A criticism applicable to both volumes is the lack of a map of the region showing the location of the various places mentioned and indicating the routes taken by Vargas. The editor and publishers have rendered a distinct service in making this interesting material on New Mexico available to English readers.

*The National Archives.*

ROSCOE R. HILL.

*San Martín y Bolívar en la entrevista de Guayaquil, a la luz de nuevos documentos definitivos.* By EDUARDO L. COLOMBRES MÁRMOL, ex embajador argentino en el Perú. Prólogo del Doctor Rómulo D. Carbia. (Buenos Aires: Imprenta y Casa Editora "Coni". 1940. Pp. xlix, 460.)

THE interview which Bolívar and San Martín held at the equator in July, 1822, has long attracted the attention of students of the heroic age of South American history. Until the publication of the volume under review this meeting was enveloped in mystery; for few documents have been printed which are concerned with the momentous encounter of the two

liberators at Guayaquil. On July 29, 1822, Bolívar wrote a letter about it to the Colombian leader, Francisco de Paula Santander. After the death of Bolívar in December, 1830, San Martín made known a letter which he had written to his rival one month after the conferences were held—a letter which was first used by the eminent Argentine historian Mitre. Most important of all was a letter sent by Bolívar's general secretary, J. G. Pérez, from Guayaquil to the secretary of foreign relations of Colombia on July 29, 1822. This letter, which Bolívar designated as "mi memoria", was found in the archives of Colombia and was first published in 1915 at Rome by J. M. Goenaga in a booklet entitled *La entrevista de Guayaquil*.

In the present volume the Argentine ambassador to Peru, Señor Eduardo L. Colombres Mármol, narrates the story of his fortunate discovery of unpublished documents concerning the two rival liberators. He came across these documents while searching for materials concerning an elaborate inkstand of French manufacture alleged to have belonged to the Venezuelan liberator. In addition to papers concerning the authentication of this inkstand, the Argentine diplomat prints an account of the interview at Guayaquil written by a Peruvian historian named Emilio Gutiérrez de Quintanilla which will presumably be printed in a posthumous work concerning the independence of Peru. Among the unpublished documents which Colombres Mármol found in his quest was an important letter from Bolívar to San Martín dated August 25, 1822. Besides a brief bibliography there are also printed in the appendix of this volume other important letters, accompanied by facsimiles, which deal more or less directly with the mysterious interview.

This book seemingly makes additions to the scanty sources concerning the topics discussed at Guayaquil. The author believes that the materials which he prints support the view that San Martín accepted Bolívar's offer of military aid to terminate the campaign for the liberation of Peru, that the protector of Peru disapproved of the annexation by Bolívar of the presidency of Quito to Colombia, and that the two great liberators had a serious difference of opinion concerning the form of government best adapted for emancipated Spanish America. In a learned prologue the Argentine historian, Rómulo D. Carbia, discusses the nature and the importance of the documents published by his compatriot. They are important—if authentic.

*University of Illinois.*

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON.

## NOTICES OF OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

### GENERAL HISTORY

*The Making of the Modern Mind: A Survey of the Intellectual Background of the Present Age.* By JOHN HERMAN RANDALL, JR., Columbia University. Revised edition. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1940, pp. xiii, 696, \$3.60.) The first edition of this invaluable text was reviewed in the *American Historical Review* in October, 1926 (XXXII, 79). In his foreword to the revised edition Professor Randall states that he has changed the original only slightly except in Book IV, which covers the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The only significant change in the early part is to be found in his emphasis upon the contributions of the Ockhamites and the Paduans to the beginnings of modern science (pp. 215-18). Even in Book IV the new edition attempts hardly more than to bring the story up to date. There is no basic rewriting. Two fundamental changes since the first edition was written account for most of the alterations in Book IV. In the first place, there have developed revolutionary concepts in physics associated with the quantum and relativity theories, which are treated briefly (pp. 472-78). Unfortunately, but perhaps necessarily, the account of these theories is almost incomprehensible to the layman. The changes in physics necessitated slight alterations in the chapters on religion and philosophy. In the second place, there have developed the totalitarian communist and fascist regimes with their imminent threat to the democratic way of life. Randall interprets totalitarianism as one manifestation of the universal attempt to create a social organization in harmony with modern industrialism. Philosophy and even religion have felt the repercussions of what he calls "the central intellectual issue" of our time (p. 580). In the last chapter (p. 625) he asks, "Can we adapt our social structure to the demands of the industrial machine without sacrificing completely the liberal and humane values of our long heritage?" His answer is at least hopeful, but it involves a measure of socialized control even in the United States which "will make the New Deal look like a business-man's paradise" (p. 625).

JOHN G. GAZLEY.

*Naval Warfare under Oars, 4th to 16th Centuries: A Study of Strategy, Tactics, and Ship Design.* By WILLIAM LEDYARD RODGERS, Vice-Admiral, U. S. Navy, Retired. (Annapolis, United States Naval Institute, 1940, pp. xiii, 358, \$5.00.) In his preceding volume, *Greek and Naval Warfare*, Admiral Rodgers carried his subject only to the establishment of the imperial Roman navy. His present volume "is a study of fleet tactics in the days of rowing ships, but during the Christian era". Its field comprises also the Crusades, the Vikings, the medieval wars of France and England, the Italian naval wars, the campaign of Lepanto, and the Spanish Armada—the two latter chapters being fuller and more substantial than those preceding. Although oars did not play any part in the fate of the Armada, this campaign has been included "partly, because the fleet tactics of sailing ships as later developed were totally unknown to either side". Throughout these twelve centuries the author follows primarily the pattern of wars and battles, but in addition he sets forth many of the political circumstances involved in the topics chosen. There remains relatively little space for a critical discussion of the changing types of vessels, upon which the tactics fol-

lowed at different periods depended. The discussion offered is hardly adequate, and the work of various present-day writers is not referred to—among them Tarn, Köster, Lane, and Byrne. Properly speaking, the book is a narrative rather than a study of strategy, tactics, and ship design; but in gathering together from scattered sources a great variety of material bearing upon a special field it is distinctly a useful narrative.

T. H. THOMAS.

*A People's History of England.* By A. L. MORTON. (New York, Random House, 1938, pp. x, 517, \$3.00.) According to the author, "this book is not so much a History of England as an essay in historical interpretation . . . it is intended for the general reader rather than for the specialist, and makes no pretense of being the result of original research". Just what the historical interpretation is, one is left to infer; the emphasis is on social and economic history, and there are more references in the index to Karl Marx than to any other individual. The German invasion of Belgium in 1914 is represented as a godsend to the British government, enabling it "to disguise a war of imperialist robbery as a war for the upholding of treaty rights and the defense of small nations", and we are further informed that "it is as certain as anything can be that even if German troops had not entered Belgian territory at the beginning of August, Allied troops would have done so before its end". The pattern seems rather familiar.

*The Kingdom of Scotland: A Short History.* By AGNES MURE MACKENZIE. (New York, Macmillan, 1940, pp. xii, 384, \$3.25.) The condensation of the turbulent history of Scotland from prehistoric times to the twentieth century within the limits of one moderate-sized volume is an admirable achievement. The author's previous work in preparing a comprehensive and detailed history has fitted her for the task. The book has the faults characteristic of all concise summaries. At times its brevity confuses the reader. The chapters on the complicated religious and political situations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are difficult to follow. They seem to have less vitality than other sections. Occasional statements, e.g., that Alexander Hamilton drafted the American Declaration of Independence (p. 295), can be challenged. Nevertheless, the work is well done. Its author has an intense love of country and a keen awareness of Scotland's strength and weakness. She frequently laments the fate of her country, which, she thinks, has lost much of its national consciousness since the Union (pp. 302, 347). The blame she divides between Englishmen and those Scotsmen who became anglicized. Writing under the strain of the present war, she makes simultaneously an appeal and a confession of faith that "Scotland is not dead yet, nor will she die" (p. 362). Her ardent patriotism and thoughtful criticisms are designed to inspire Scotsmen to carry on their great national traditions.

HELEN G. STAFFORD.

*Historical Records and Studies.* Volume XXXI. THOMAS F. MEEHAN, Editor. (New York, United States Catholic Historical Society, 1940, pp. 176, \$3.00.) The essays published in this volume include: "Some Non-Permanent Foundations of Religious Orders and Congregations of Women in the United States (1793-1850)", by Sister Mary Christina Sullivan; "Four Women Lay Apostles of the Old Northwest", by Sister M. Rosalita; "The First Catholic Monthly Magazines", by Thomas F. Meehan; "Pioneer Catholic Universities", by Rev. Laurence J. Kenny; "Pius IX and the Confederacy"; "A Dutch Irish Pact, 1680", by Thomas F. Meehan.

*Preliminary Guide to the Manuscript Collection in the Toronto Public Libraries.* Prepared by FLORENCE B. MURRAY and ELSIE MCLEOD MURRAY, Reference Divi-

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sion, under the Direction of CHARLES R. SANDERSON, Chief Librarian. (Toronto, Toronto Public Libraries, 1940, pp. iv, 60, free for limited circulation.) "The manuscript collection of the Toronto Public Libraries is comprised largely of Canadian, and more particularly of Upper Canadian historical manuscripts, although it contains some British and American items. It centres around several large sets of personal papers, but in addition to these major groups there is a great deal of valuable material in the single pieces, which include diaries, letter-books, and single documents. . . . Many of the manuscripts have been donations from families outstanding in the building of the country. . . . The period of acquisition has been unbroken since the collection began in 1886 with the purchase by Dr. James Bain, historian, collector and first librarian, of the manuscript: *An account of the Seven Years' War, 1757-1759*. The present handbook is planned as a preliminary guide to the collection, to make the scope of the manuscripts known in outline at least, to historians and to the public generally."

*Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*. Volume LXV, October, 1932-May, 1936. (Boston, the Society, 1940, pp. xv, 619, \$3.00.) The papers published in this volume include the following: "Jean Lefebvre de Cheverus, First Catholic Bishop of Boston", by Robert H. Lord; "Secretary Olney's Real Credit in the Venezuela Affair", by Theodore Clarke Smith; "Recollections of Boston and Harvard before the Civil War", by John T. Morse, jr.; "The British High Commissioners at Washington in 1871", by James Phinney Baxter, 3rd; "Frederick Jackson Turner: A Memoir", by Max Farrand; "The Relation of the British Government to the Imprisonment of Lafayette", by Horace H. Morse; "The First George Washington Scandal", by Allen French; and "James Franklin and the Beginnings of Printing in Rhode Island", by Clarence S. Brigham.

*Carl Johan i den stora koalitionen mot Napoleon: Sverige och kongressen i Châtillon*. By TORVALD T:SON HÖJER. With a résumé in French. [Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift.] (Uppsala, A.-B. Lundequistska Bokhandeln; Leipzig, Otto Harrassowitz, 1940, pp. v, 83, 3 kr.) Höjer, in his study of Bernadotte, has made valuable contributions to the history of the Napoleonic Period. In this short account of the relations of Bernadotte as prince regent of Sweden with the principal powers of the coalition against Napoleon, during January-March, 1814, Höjer throws some interesting light on the historical background of the Congress of Châtillon, the prince regent's desire to make his voice felt at the congress, the diplomacy and intrigues behind the stage, the prince regent's deep-rooted suspicions, and the dubiousness of the Swedish advisers over Bernadotte's ambitions. The sources used, except the Swedish, are hardly such as to have been untapped previously, and Höjer's contribution consists chiefly in analyzing critically the ambition of Bernadotte not to be ignored by the great powers. The manner in which Sweden was treated by the statesmen of these powers cut deep wounds in the personal vanity of Bernadotte, who was a Frenchman eager for a peace settlement favorable to France based on terms which were not acceptable to other members of the coalition. The work suffers slightly from a few unnecessary repetitions, and the reader is puzzled somewhat by a too rapid change in chronology not always carefully indicated. Höjer presents a vivid picture not dimmed by unnecessary befogging details. FRITIOF ANDER.

*British Consular Reports on the Trade and Politics of Latin America, 1824-1826*. Edited for the Royal Historical Society by R. A. HUMPHREYS. [Camden Third Series, Volume LXIII.] (London, Royal Historical Society, 1940, pp. xxii, 385.) Mr. Humphreys has done an excellent job of editing in this volume. He has also prepared a brief but penetrating introduction which gives added value to his

work. The reports which he presents are, as he very properly says, of unequal value. They do not always lend themselves to significant or easy generalization. But they constitute a page in the history of that nineteenth century commercial liberalism which was an important factor in a period of amazing economic advance all over the world. The system of colonial monopoly broke down almost coincidentally with the political liberation of the Spanish colonies. "It may be safely stated", writes a British businessman to Woodbine Parish, the consul at Buenos Aires, "that while the colonial system existed, all manufactures and other European goods sold here at three times their present prices; while the produce of the country was given in exchange at a fourth part of what is now paid for it." Despite many stories of internal disorganization and governmental exactions, the consular reports clearly reflect the liberation of immense new energies with the coming of independence. One is impressed with the character of British policy in the face of these new opportunities. It was not based on efforts to secure a favored or exclusive position. It had no implications of domination. There is, in the consular reports themselves, a remarkable freedom from intense commercial jealousy. Part of this, of course, is due to the undoubted supremacy enjoyed by British trade; but part is due to the temper in which the Britain of a century ago faced its problems. In the economic, as in the political sphere, Americans of 1941 may well contemplate with interest—and with an eye to the rise of Nazi Germany—the moderation with which the greatest power of the nineteenth century acted in the affairs of the New World. DEXTER PERKINS.

*A History of South Africa.* By ERIC A. WALKER, Fellow of St. John's College and Vere Harmsworth Professor of Imperial and Naval History in the University of Cambridge, Sometime King George V Professor of History in the University of Cape Town. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1940, pp. xv, 710, \$5.40.) In the preface to this second edition of his well-known history Professor Walker says: "Much work has been done on South Africa since this book was first published. I have therefore revised the text thoroughly, and expanded the select bibliography to include books which have appeared since the middle months of 1927. The principal changes in the text have been made in the chapters which deal with the Great Trek, the eighteen-sixties and seventies, and the years immediately preceding the South African War of 1899-1902."

*From Marx to Stalin: A Critique of Communism.* By JAMES EDWARD LEROSSIGNOL, Dean of the College of Business Administration, the University of Nebraska. (New York, Crowell, 1940, pp. x, 442, \$3.00.) This volume deals with the teaching of Marx and Engels and its subsequent evolution, especially in Russia, where socialism has been put in practice for the first time. The bulk of the study is devoted to the theoretical aspects of Marxism and to the testing of its basic premises and principal conclusions in the light of practical experience. The result of the investigation is distinctly unfavorable to socialism, which Dr. LeRossignol finds sadly wanting both as a method of scientific investigation and as a guide to forecasting the future course of human events. "Inasmuch, then, as Marxian theories of value and surplus value do not explain exchange value and the distribution of income in the present social order", he writes, "'scientific' socialism resolves itself into hope and faith in the coming of the ideal society—which is sheer utopianism." Dr. LeRossignol wisely refuses to be alarmed by the impending doom of the capitalist society so freely predicted by the communists and their fellow travelers, but he feels that while the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia has not been a conspicuous success, "Marxism is such a comprehensive and far-reaching philosophy, and appeals so strongly to human ideals,

emotions, and impulses, that the vociferous vanguard of revolution and their allies may not be satisfied until the fateful experiment shall have been tried again in some highly developed industrial country where, as they think, capitalism is breaking down, economic conditions are ripe for revolution, and the new social order is ready to burst from the shell." MICHAEL T. FLORINSKY.

*The Great Hatred.* By MAURICE SAMUEL. (New York, Knopf, 1940, pp. 209, \$2.00.)

Mr. Samuel's latest volume is a passionate and somewhat hysterical treatment of anti-Semitism in the modern world. It is not difficult to understand the presence of both passion and hysteria when dealing with the most calamitous epoch in the history of the Jewish people. But neither passion nor hysteria makes for the greatest clarity and historical accuracy. Mr. Samuel's fundamental proposition is that modern anti-Semitism is not just another form of interracial and inter-religious hatred. Anti-Semitism is a "unique phenomenon". It manifests itself, he says, in "unmistakable symptoms of hallucination", "in fear, convulsive horror . . . and vast delusions of persecution", and in a "cringing inferiority complex" (p. 17). For modern anti-Semitism, says Samuel, is really the "expression of the concealed hatred of Christ and Christianity, rising to a new and catastrophic level in the western world" (p. 36). That is why anti-Semitism is the very core and center of Nazism and fascism. Opposed to the new world philosophy of force stands the Judaeo-Christian philosophy of non-force. "Christ and Christianity are not attacked by name; but their significance must be destroyed from the earth. . . . And so the Jews are hated as the givers of Christ, but denounced as the killers of Christ" (p. 139). Mr. Samuel is quite right in stressing the fact that Nazism represents an assault upon all the values associated with Judaeo-Christian civilization. But his emphasis on the unique character of the violence of anti-Semitism as distinguished from other forms of group hatred is open to serious question. What makes anti-Semitism unique is its long persistence in time and its wide dispersal over many parts of the world. It is this that takes anti-Semitism out of the realm of purely local concern and converts it into a problem of world significance. KOPPEL S. PINSON.

*The Jewish Fate and Future.* By ARTHUR RUPPIN, Professor of Jewish Sociology at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Translated by E. W. DICKES. [Studies in Modern History, General Editor, L. B. Namier.] (New York, Macmillan, 1940, pp. xi, 386, \$4.00.) Notwithstanding its rhetorical title this book is essentially a factual survey of the world Jewish situation, as of 1938. This complex subject is summarized under five heads: demography, economic life, anti-Semitism and assimilation, communal activities, and Zionism. Professor Ruppín has taken great care to collect the most recent statistics available, although one ought not to look for exhaustiveness in such a brief and comprehensive manual. The critical student, however, will attach little value to the table purporting to show the natural increase of the Jewish population at large in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and even less to the claim (p. 79) that New York Jewry in 1932 showed a rate of increase (9 per 1,000) considerably higher than that of their neighbors (6.1). The nonstatistical sections are at best superficial. Ruppín's effort to explain why the peace of 1918-19 brought little alleviation to Eastern European Jewry (outside of the U.S.S.R.) is still-born because he ignores the economic effect of the dissolution of Austria-Hungary and of the barrier between the Russian market and the Jews of the old "pale of settlement". His account of the great migration to the United States deals only with the European scene, stressing persecutions and despair; the industrialization of America and the simultaneous migration of various other ethnic groups (even from relatively

liberal Austria-Hungary) are features which the historian would probably consider more significant. As for the author's outlook, he is a Zionist who is conscious of the serious limitations of his credo. He recognizes that the "National Home" is no solution of the Jewish problem but insists that, among other functions, it can "take off the edge of the problem". Students who admired Ruppin's *Soziologie der Juden* (1930) will probably feel that his new contribution is not of the same caliber.

JOSHUA STARR.

*Australia and the United States.* By FRED ALEXANDER, Head of the Department of History, University of Western Australia. (Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1941, pp. 68, cloth 50 cents, paper 25 cents.)

*Canada and the United States.* By F. R. SCOTT, Professor of Civil Law, McGill University, Montreal. (*Ibid.*, pp. 80, cloth 50 cents, paper 25 cents.) These are the first two of a new series of pamphlets to appear under the general title "America looks Ahead". "The Trustees of the World Peace Foundation aim at providing the American public with expert but condensed comment on some of the more important international issues which they are called on to face as the result of the current wars in Europe and in Asia. . . . Foreign scholars, or others from neighboring countries who are familiar with the American scene, will be among those asked to examine the relationship between the United States and their respective countries. Other writers will be Americans."

*England Speaks: A Symposium.* By A. P. HERBERT, A. A. MILNE, E. M. FORSTER, A. S. DUNCAN-JONES, RONALD KNOX, J. R. CLYNES, C. E. M. JOAD, HAROLD LASKI. (New York, Macmillan, 1941, pp. 222, \$1.75.) This is a reprint of eight articles and speeches originally published as Macmillan War Pamphlets.

*The Foundations of a More Stable World Order.* WALTER H. C. LAVES, Editor. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1941, pp. xiii, 192, \$2.00.) This volume includes the following public lectures delivered on the Norman Wait Harris Memorial Foundation at the University of Chicago in June and July, 1940: "Can Our Civilization achieve a More Stable World Order?", by Ferdinand Schevill; "International Economic Relations and the World Order", by Jacob Viner; "The Role of Shipping in the World Order", by Charles C. Colby; "International Law and the World Order", by Quincy Wright; "The United States and World Order", by J. Fred Rippy; and "The Institutional Requirements for a More Stable World Order", by the editor.

*The Defeat of Chaos.* By Sir GEORGE PAISH. (New York, Appleton-Century, 1941, pp. vi, 122, \$1.00.) A distinguished economist's analysis of the dangers at present threatening the world and his proposal for surmounting them.

*Things in the Saddle: Selected Essays and Addresses.* By GEORGE NORLIN. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1940, pp. ix, 233, \$2.50.) These essays and addresses on educational and social subjects range in time from athletics in ancient Greece to Hitlerism. The volume was planned by a committee representing the faculties, regents, alumni, and students of the University of Colorado to do honor to Dr. Norlin at the time of his retirement from an active service at the university, as professor and president, of more than forty years.

*Archives and Libraries.* Edited by A. F. KUHLMAN, Chairman, A. L. A. Committee on Archives and Libraries. (Chicago, American Library Association, 1940, pp. 136, \$2.00, planographed.) The papers presented in this issue of *Archives and Libraries* include several that will be of interest to readers of the *Review*. The work of the Historical Records Survey is dealt with from various

angles by the following: Sargent B. Child, director of the H. R. S., gives an account of the status and plans for the completion of the inventories which the Survey is publishing; Margaret Sherburne Eliot, national editor of the Manuscripts Survey, discusses the work that has been done on inventories and guides to historical manuscript collections; Douglas C. McMurtrie, national editor of the American Imprints Survey, describes recent progress in the record of American printing; Herbert A. Kellar, director of the McCormick Historical Association, gives a general appraisal of the work of the H. R. S.

*Teaching of History in Elementary and Secondary Schools, with Applications to Allied Studies.* By HENRY JOHNSON, Professor Emeritus of History in Teachers College, Columbia University. Revised edition. (New York, Macmillan, 1940, pp. xv, 467, \$3.00.) Requests that Professor Johnson's standard manual on the teaching of history be brought down to date have led to this extensive revision. Much of the original work has been reorganized and rewritten, and two new chapters, "Teaching Chronology" and "The Treatment of Current Events", have been added. The bibliography has been reorganized, amplified, and put abreast of present scholarship in the field. We repeat what the late Albert E. McKinley wrote in reviewing the first edition of this work in the January, 1916, issue of this journal: "We have here a true scholar, a good teacher, and a sincere friend who is willing to place the results of his wide scholarship and his very extensive teaching experience at the command of all his fellow history-teachers."

## ARTICLES

- RICHARD B. MORRIS. The Challenge of Historical Materials. *Am. Archivist*, Apr.  
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- ALBERT GUÉRARD. International Language and National Cultures. *Am. Scholar*, Spring.
- E. MERRICK DODD. Peace by Way of the Sword. *Ibid.*
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- The Czechoslovak-Polish Agreement [November 11, 1940]. *Jour. Central Europ. Affairs*, Apr.

ANCIENT HISTORY<sup>1</sup>

T. R. S. Broughton

*Ancient Libraries*. By JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON, Sidney Hellman Ehrman Professor of European History Emeritus in the University of California. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1940, pp. 120, \$2.00.) The subject of ancient books and bookmaking, which the author attempts to treat of here, is one in which he is definitely not at home. His sources are almost exclusively secondary and very often antiquated. He is unfamiliar with the papyrological research of the last half century and as a result blindly accepts and retails many a long-exploded theory or hoary legend. Thus we are still told, e.g., that papyrus "was not suitable for preservation" because "it crumbles easily" (pp. 62-63) and that papyrus could not have its writing erased and be used again (p. 66). The book shows signs of having been hastily thrown together. Repetition is frequent and occurs even within a single paragraph (pp. 51-52). Contradiction occurs within almost as close range: papyrus is said to be both cheaper (pp. 63, 68) and dearer (p. 67) than parchment. Other errors also abound: Hammurabi is put in the sixteenth century B.C. (p. 10); Plato, *Apology*, 26 D is overlooked in speaking of books in classical Athens (p. 19); the oldest classical text known is not a Plato or Euripides of ca. 250 B.C., as stated (n. 51), but Timotheus's *Persians*, which dates

<sup>1</sup> Under this and the following headings unsigned notices are, in general, contributed by the persons whose names appear at the heads of the divisions and who are otherwise responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.



from the last third of the fourth century B.C. Examples of deficiencies might be multiplied. Suffice it to say that the lay reader, innocent of any knowledge of ancient civilization, may find this little book an entertaining collection of antiquarian data. Others will continue to use more authoritative sources of information.

NAPHTALI LEWIS.

*Late Geometric Graves and a Seventh Century Well in the Agora.* By RODNEY S. YOUNG. With an Appendix on the Skeletal Remains: Geometric Athenians, by J. LAWRENCE ANGEL. [The American Excavations in the Athenian Agora.] (Athens, American School of Classical Studies, 1939, pp. ix, 250.) This admirable monograph maintains that high level of performance which we have learned to expect from the agora excavations. Mr. Young publishes the pottery and other objects of twenty-two closely associated graves and also pottery found in an early Archaic well. These two groups give a continuous sequence of material from the last quarter of the eighth down to the middle of the seventh century. All the objects are minutely described and beautifully illustrated. Parallels from other excavations and finds are adduced and discussed. The primary importance of this archaeological material, as Mr. Young points out, is that it runs without a break from the late Geometric period, that dark winter whose only voice for us is Hesiod, to the developed Orientalizing style of the early Archaic, the age of the first lyric poets and the beginnings of the Greek Renaissance—a crucial epoch of transition. Attention should be called to Lawrence Angel's careful treatment (Appendix III) of the skeletal material found in the graves. This is surely one of the very few instances where the human remains found in the excavation of a classical site have been discussed by a competent anthropologist.

CHARLES EDSON.

*The Iberians of Spain and their Relations with the Aegean World.* By PIERSON DIXON, Sometime Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1940, pp. xi, 159, plates, \$3.00.) This monograph is an "abbreviated survey of a larger work in the hands of the printer in Madrid in July, 1936". It is divided into two equal parts, the first of which is a survey of Iberian civilization, its origins, its development, and its reactions to external cultural influences. The second part is a more detailed study of the remains of Iberian art. A list of sites and dates and a select bibliography complete this valuable introduction to an influential branch of the Spanish family tree. One may well accept many of the generalizations which escaped with the author from the war-torn land of Spain. He establishes, for example, two characteristics of all Iberian art: "a love of the decorative in art which often amounts to flamboyance, and a tendency to imitation which made the Iberian artist sensitive to the influences of an alien and more vigorous culture" (p. 7). Again, differences in tempo and character of development are attributed to "alien influences from the Iron Age civilizations" in the north, to the Carthaginian occupation of Andalusia, and to the stimuli of Greek colonists in Murcia and the extreme northeast. Emphasis is given to the assimilation and importation of other cultures by the numerous bands of Iberian mercenaries in Sicily, Italy, and Greece. On the other hand, Massilia was certainly not an ally of Rome in 509 B.C. (p. 38); and the author himself refutes his description of Phoenician wares as trumpery (p. 34; cf. pp. 26, 108). This is a work of which both author and press may well be proud.

J. J. VAN NOSTRAND.

*Church and State in the Later Roman Empire: The Religious Policy of Anastasius the First, 491-518.* By PETER CHARANIS, Department of History, Rutgers Uni-



versity. [University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History.] (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1939, pp. 102, \$1.50.) Among the by-paths of history are to be found many of its most interesting features. Professor Charanis has selected such a bypath for his research and has poured a flood of light on many obscure places and persons. Anastasius the First, who was emperor from 491 to 518, had been a *silentarius*, a palace official, who was raised to the throne of the Eastern Empire through his marriage to Ariadne, the widow of his predecessor Zeno. The times were troubled, and Anastasius, a theological Telot, was condemned by the orthodox on account of his Eutychian belief. His ecclesiastical policy was moderate, and he sought to maintain the peace of the church. He was forced, however, by the orthodox extremists and by the riots of the populace of Byzantium, to abandon the *via media* in 512, and he supported the Monophysites in their controversy with the Catholic orthodoxy of the West. Vitalian utilized the ensuing unpopularity of Anastasius to raise the standard of revolt (514-15) in co-operation with hordes of "Huns". The rebellion was finally crushed after a naval engagement which was won by the general mariners. Anastasius's financial policy was so careful and prudent that it won for him the reputation of "stinginess". He died in 518 after a rule of twenty-seven years. Professor Charanis has told the story well. The book is well printed and easy to read. The author has a ready command of the original sources and has made an able contribution to a subject of which comparatively little is known by students of Western ecclesiastical history. It should become a recognized authority in the field with which it deals.

GEOFFREY WARDLE STAFFORD.

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## MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Gray C. Boyce

*Initiation aux études d'histoire du moyen âge.* By LOUIS HALPHEN, with the collaboration of JEAN-BERTHOLD MAHN. [Guide de l'étudiant.] (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1940, pp. 141, 18 fr.) This introduction to the general bibliography and the research apparatus of medieval history was written primarily for students in the faculties of letters in France. The first part, recommended to candidates for the "certificat d'histoire du moyen âge de la licence ès lettres", is devoted to outstanding secondary works—historical syntheses, atlases, and books of reference. From the second part a group of more advanced students, including candidates for the "diplôme d'études supérieures d'histoire", may derive such knowledge as might be expected of them concerning the great collections of printed sources and some of the auxiliary sciences. Candidates for the doctorate and others who pursue independent research are offered, in the third part, essential information and valuable advice with respect to bibliographical tools, archives and manuscript collections, and the presentation of the results of research. The Halphen-Mahn bibliography is naturally more up to date than that supplied in the corresponding portion (Part I, General Books) of

the current (1931) edition of Paetow's *Guide to the Study of Medieval History*, but it is also more selective, being limited to what was deemed indispensable for the readers chiefly concerned. Pending the appearance of a third edition of the *Guide*, American graduate students intending to specialize in the medieval field would do well to familiarize themselves with the convenient little volume which is here under notice; if they master the material it presents and follow the excellent suggestions of its author, their profit will be large. E. JORANSON.

*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*. Fourth Series, Volume XXIII. (London, Royal Historical Society, 1941, pp. vii, 265.) In addition to the presidential address by Professor F. M. Stenton, entitled "The Historical Bearing of Place-Name Studies: Anglo-Saxon Heathenism", the following papers are included in this volume: "Early English and Gallic Minsters", by M. Deanesly; "The Relations between England and Flanders before the Norman Conquest", by Philip Grierson; "Nationality and Language in Medieval England", by V. H. Galbraith; "The English Coronation Oath", by H. G. Richardson; and "The Duchy of Lancaster Council and Court of Duchy Chamber", by R. Somerville.

*The Letters of Saint Boniface*. Translated with an Introduction by EPHRAIM EMERTON. [Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies, Austin P. Evans, Editor.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1940, pp. 204, \$3.00.) *The Letters of Saint Boniface* is a useful and welcome addition to the Records of Civilization series. Though incomplete in number and of doubtful translation in a few instances, the letters chosen contain an adequate picture of St. Boniface and his times. The missionary's difficulties with his scattered pagan flock, theological and liturgical questions that must necessarily be referred to Rome, a native Frankish population whose veneer of Christianity still remained thin, and a series of reforming councils to revitalize and rehabilitate the church in Gaul form the subject of the major portion of the saint's correspondence. In addition to the light thrown on these, the letters give striking confirmation of the layman's place in contemporary ecclesiastical organization, especially the growth and development of proprietary churches. Confiscation of ecclesiastical property still continued under Charles Martel's successors. When Boniface reported to Rome that he had obtained a rental in lieu of full resititution of churches and monasteries, the Holy See replied, "Thanks be to God you could get this much" (p. 109). His relations, however, with the Frankish princes, Karlmann in particular, were cordial and co-operative. Boniface's missives to his native land are earnest and imply a wistfulness which portrays a warmhearted man clinging to the friendships of his youth. JEREMIAH F. O'SULLIVAN.

*Papal Enforcement of Some Medieval Marriage Laws*. By CHARLES EDWARD SMITH, Associate Professor of History, Louisiana State University. (University, Louisiana State University Press, 1940, pp. vii, 230, \$2.50.) The greater part of this book traces the development of four impediments to marriage during the period from the sixth to the middle of the thirteenth century. These four were blood relationship, affinity, "public honesty", and spiritual relationship. The background of Roman law is briefly touched on, and the main conciliar decrees are discussed in the development of the law. The last two chapters, however, outweigh the preceding eight. To the student of society, past or modern, enforcement of a law is only half of the story. Breaking the law may be far more significant. When practical considerations force the repeal or modification of a statute, be it prohibition or the medieval impediments to marriage, it is an indication that the fabric of society is changing. Hence chapters ix and x have significance for the student, for they deal with the relaxation of the law. As early as the eleventh

century Pope Nicholas II granted a dispensation to William of Normandy and Matilda, daughter of Baldwin, count of Flanders. It is regrettable that the exigencies of thesis writing prevented the author from a bit of an excursion into this act of Nicholas's. The middle of the eleventh century was a significant period in the development of papal *Realpolitik*. Was this an instance in point? Mr. Smith discusses briefly the possible motives back of the relaxation of the law. He also touches on the use of dispensations as a means of preserving the peace of Europe.

HELEN ROBBINS BITTERMANN.

*The Medieval Papacy in Action.* By MARSHALL W. BALDWIN, Assistant Professor of History, New York University. [The Christendom Series.] (New York, Macmillan, 1940, pp. xiii, 113, \$1.00.) The author of this little book warns us against "regarding the papal monarchy as a merely human institution". The task of preserving faith from error "was committed in a special manner by Christ to St. Peter and his successors". The spiritual leadership of Christendom belongs "in the hands of Christ's vicar". Furthermore, "Rome's supremacy existed from the beginning". The medieval popes were but recovering a primitive authority that had lapsed during the centuries of confusion and decentralization. Set in this framework of belief, we find a summary of papal achievement between 1049 and 1254, particularly in the field of ecclesiastical administration. Temporal activities are passed over briefly for lack of space. During the first of these two centuries most popes were monks, bent on reassertion of the original Roman primacy and clerical reforms. During the second, many popes were canonists, under whom church law took systematic shape and the machinery of papal government was effectively organized. Data for this survey are derived largely from the *Cambridge Medieval History* and the institutional studies of Barraclough, Lunt, R. L. Poole, and Latourette. The *Dictatus*, we note, is attributed without question to Gregory VII. No sufficient distinction is drawn between Gregory's declaration of spiritual authority over Christendom and Innocent IV's claim to temporal and spiritual world jurisdiction, although the church, it is pointed out, has canonized Gregory and is merely grateful to Innocent. The inevitable problem of how far the growing use of material force to compass religious ends was necessary and defensible in that age and how far it helped to defeat those ends is also slurred over. But the book has its value as a clear and convenient outline of papal organization and concrete objectives during the period and may be recommended as collateral reading, especially for students who have too little appreciation of Roman accomplishment and the Roman point of view.

L. R. LOOMIS.

*Music in the Middle Ages, with an Introduction on the Music of Ancient Times.* By GUSTAVE REESE. (New York, Norton, 1940, pp. xvii, 502, \$5.00.) This is the first serious attempt in American musicology to summarize the development of medieval music in a well-rounded monograph. It is also the first reliable and comprehensive writing on the subject in English since the days of H. E. Wooldridge's *The Polyphonic Period* in the Oxford History of Music (1901). Taking the music of ancient times as a point of departure, Mr. Reese tries to show the main lines of development during the Middle Ages and describes the connecting links between the different phases. History writing of this kind offers particular difficulty since we are often short of direct information, or the information we gather from different contemporary sources lends itself to divergent conclusions. In Mr. Reese's book are recorded a great number of hypotheses—old and modern—the discussion of which a reader unfamiliar with the subject may not always be able to follow easily. Also the presentation of problems of musical

theory is sometimes too detailed to be readily understood by a layman. The greater part of the book deals, however, with the description of the music itself, and from this a general historian may win further insight into musical thinking in the Middle Ages. It is the large amount of specific information which makes this book extremely valuable to the student of medieval history as well as to the musicologist and the musician. Organizing this material represents a considerable achievement. The excellent bibliography, followed by a list of gramophone recordings, is the most complete published so far and shows what a great amount of work has been done in this field of music. There are a good many gaps in our knowledge of medieval music. To fill these represents a gratifying task for the growing field of musicology in this country; toward this end Mr. Reese has given a most notable impetus.

ERICH HERTZMANN.

*Menschengestaltung in vorhöfischen Epen des 12. Jahrhunderts: Chanson de Roland, Rolandslied des Pfaffen Konrad, König Rother.* By EVA-MARIA WOELKER. [Germanische Studien, Heft 221.] (Berlin, Emil Ebering, 1940, pp. 285, 11.40 M.)

*Der sizilische Grosshof unter Kaiser Friedrich II: Eine verwaltungsgeschichtliche Studie.* By WILHELM E. HEUPEL. [Schriften des Reichsinstituts für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde; Monumenta Germaniae historica.] (Leipzig, Karl W. Hiersemann, 1940, pp. xi, 154.)

*Mittelalterliche Handschriftenbruchstücke der Universitätsbibliothek und des Gregorianum zu München.* By PAUL LEHMANN and OTTO GLAUNING. [Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, Beiheft 72.] (Leipzig, Otto Harrassowitz, 1940, pp. xii, 187.)

*Storia delle colonie genovesi nel Mediterraneo.* By ROBERTO LOPEZ. [Istituto nazionale di cultura fascista, Studi giuridici e storici, diretti da P. S. Leicht.] (Bologna, Nicola Zanichelli, 1938, pp. xii, 480, 25 l.)

*Newstead Priory Cartulary, 1344, and Other Archives.* Translated by VIOLET W. WALKER, Librarian-in-Charge, Nottingham Reference Library. Edited by DUNCAN GRAY, City Librarian of Nottingham. (Nottingham, privately printed, 1940, pp. viii, 262.) Henry II founded a priory of Augustinian canons in Sherwood Forest at a place called De Novo Loco, that is to say, Newstead. Several collections of documents survive relating to it of which the cartulary under consideration is one. It was compiled in the main in about 1344, and this edition of it has been privately printed and presents the documents in translation. The possessions of the priory with which these documents are concerned lie in Cossale, Bulwell, Egmont, Linby Hay, Muskham, and Cauton, together with tenements in the town of Nottingham. From several points of view the cartulary is interesting and important. It gives many topographical details regarding medieval Nottingham, mentioning the gates of the old town, the markets, some of the streets, the French Borough, the buildings "below and above ground". The accounts of villis situated within the forest are also worthy of study. Land granted there from the waste might be enclosed at will and cultivated and assured of ingress and egress to the royal highway. Estovers might be taken, and freedom from forest officers was assured. Some light is thrown on the relations of forest and common-law administration within such villis. John of Crumbwell, who had been a not too trustworthy justice of the forests north of Trent, is often mentioned. A few *ad quod damnum* inquests for forest territory are given. Information of a more general nature will also be found; for example, tofts and crofts and the distinctions between them may be studied and the exact places where selions lay in the arable and doles in the meadows. One may

perhaps question the word *dicinorum* and the meaning given it, connecting it with tithes, and the use of *dominus* as a title at this time. Translation of medieval documents, even by excellent Latinists, brings inevitably some questions in its train.

N. NEILSON.

*Discussion of Holidays in the Later Middle Ages.* By EDITH COOPERRIDER RODGERS. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1940, pp. 147, \$1.50.) Mrs. Rodgers has searched widely in all pertinent sources and has overlooked nothing of significance that might explain the attitude of medieval men toward their many days of leisure. Holidays increased so steadily in number that opposition to them was openly expressed by critics sensitive to the needs of the contemporary social order. Economic life in particular suffered from an excessive number of workless days, and economic necessity often explains attempts that were made to reform abuses that arose. The title of this study is not well chosen. It is too loose, too vague to describe just what the book aims to do. It is unfortunate that little attempt has been made to synthesize and to reach significant generalization. The catalogue of notes, so carefully gathered, is reflected too obviously on each page, where "the many" obscure "the one". The quality of the exposition adds difficulties for the reader, for the writing is too often redundant and hence lacking in clarity and precision. Antecedents of pronouns are not always immediately apparent, sentences tend at times to follow a German rather than an English pattern, and an excessive use of prepositions at times obscures the thought. The excellent bibliography of some 350 titles might be even more useful had a systematic rather than an alphabetical classification been adopted.

*Iohannis Dominici Lucula noctis.* By EDMUND HUNT. [Mediaeval Studies, IV.] (Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame, 1940, pp. xxxi, 432, \$4.50.) This is a new edition of a text previously published in 1908 by Remi Coulon, whose work, based on an incomplete manuscript tradition, abounds in errors that vitiate all he had done. The new text is established from three significant manuscripts: one in the Biblioteca Laurenziana, another in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, and the third, the most important and one not used by Coulon, now in the University of Chicago Library. This last manuscript has added significance when it is known that it was the one read by Coluccio Salutati in his controversy with Giovanni Dominici. In a brief introduction Hunt explains the importance of the tract in relation to humanistic developments and problems of the early fifteenth century. He also gives what little is known about the author himself. The *Lucula noctis*, composed in 1405, presents in scholastic fashion the conservative point of view concerning the validity and worth of the classics for a Christian world. Each of its forty-eight parts (a prologue and forty-seven chapters) has its beginning with a succeeding letter from the text: *Lux in tenebris lucet et tenebre eam non comprehenderunt*. The case for the classics is fairly and admirably presented in the first twelve chapters; then that against the humanists' attitude is cogently argued in the remaining thirty-five sections.

*La vita di Facino Cane.* By NINO VALERI. (Turin, Società Subalpina Editrice, 1940, pp. 272, 28 l.) This book presents the known facts, derived from chronicles and archival sources, in the career of one of the least edifying characters of European history. Facino Cane was one of the numerous brood of *condottieri* active in Piedmont and Lombardy in the strenuous age of the first duke of Milan, Giangaleazzo Visconti (1395-1402), in whose service his band was often enlisted. Giangaleazzo's sudden death came just when his grandiose design of founding a centralized territorial state comprising all of northern Italy and Tuscany—a kingdom of Italy, possibly—was on the point of being realized. For more than



a decade thereafter anarchy prevailed in the Lombard plain, a "golden age" of *condottieri*. Along with others Facino Cane threw upon and promoted disorder. Of undoubted military ability, capable of the utmost cruelty and violence, foreign to religion or superstition or notions of humanity, he rose by 1409 to a position of semilegal domination in the Lombard duchy while the authority of Giovanni Maria Visconti dwindled. Thereupon, his biographer seems to believe, the ferocious *condottiere* began spontaneously to develop some notions of governmental responsibility. He died, however, on the day that Duke Giovanni Maria was assassinated (May 16, 1412); and no substantial proof is given that he ever exhibited civilized tastes or kindly instincts. Why write about him? Perhaps to show that cruelty is part of a great historic tradition? The author uses some vague words about the "spirit of history" and suggests that Facino Cane was "sent from Heaven" to do work of "cruel necessity". ERNEST W. NELSON.

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## MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

## BRITISH EMPIRE

F. H. Herrick

*An Index to the Columbia Edition of the Works of John Milton.* By FRANK ALLEN PATTERSON, assisted by FRENCH ROWE FOGLE. Two volumes. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1940, pp. xvi, vi, 2141, \$12.50.) If there is one char-

acteristic of modern scholarship in the United States more striking—and perhaps more useful—than any other, it is the development of what is sometimes called the “apparatus” of scholarly work, that is to say, annotated editions, bibliographies, and indexes. There is a common and erroneous opinion among those who have never attempted any such minute, useful, and exacting work that it requires only a limited intelligence, great patience—and perhaps a good “research assistant” or secretary. But no one who seriously considers any such monumental and invaluable production as this two-thousand-page index to the admirable Columbia University edition of Milton’s works can have any doubt as to the intelligence required for such a task as this or the enormous contribution it has made to all study of Milton and his times. Not excepting Masson’s *Life of Milton*, it is the most useful guide to the work of the poet-pamphleteer which has yet appeared. It not only marks an epoch in Miltoniana, but it offers a new starting point for all future work in the field. Despite the disavowal of the claim that this is not only an index but a concordance, the inclusion of an infinity of references to Milton’s sources, his allusions, his indebtedness to other authors, as well as general headings like liberty, parliament, crime, nearly fifty pages on the single entry “God”, with a multitude of references to words like “disrelish” and “girded”, two pages on “hope”, eight pages on “kings”, a page on “stars”, and such like matters—all this shows that we have here no mere “index nominorum” but a real guide to Miltoniana, as useful to the historian as it is to the literary scholar. It is a great climax to a great contribution to scholarship, of which its editors, compilers, and the university which made it possible may be justly proud.

W. C. ABBOTT.

*Milton and his Modern Critics.* By LOGAN PEARSALL SMITH. [An Atlantic Monthly Press Book.] (Boston, Little, Brown, 1941, pp. 87, \$1.50.)

*The Governor's Lady, Mrs. Philip Gidley King: An Australian Historical Narrative.* By MARNIE BASSETT. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1940, pp. xii, 131, \$3.50.) When Anna Josepha Coombe of Devonshire married Philip Gidley King of Cornwall in 1791, she became “her Excellency”, for King held a commission as lieutenant governor of Norfolk Island. Their government house measured twenty-four feet by twelve, and the island had only a thousand inhabitants. It was a modest domain, but the Kings were modest West Country folk. In 1800 King became governor of New South Wales and Mrs. King Australia’s first first lady. King resigned in 1807, and in 1808 he was dead. Restless in England, Mrs. King eventually returned to Australia, where she lived among her children and grandchildren until, at the age of eighty, she died. Mrs. Bassett has aptly chosen and interestingly developed this unique story to illustrate the influence of women on Australian development. Mrs. King is pictured as a simple, practical, imperturbable, unimaginative, kindly housewife, whose reach never far exceeded her grasp. She was more disturbed by her husband’s gout than by the convict system. Perhaps, however, Mrs. Bassett has somewhat mistaken the proportion of things in Mrs. King’s diaries for the proportion of things in Mrs. King’s mind. It should at least have been possible to trace the outcome of Mrs. King’s orphanage experiment, even at the expense of some otherwise delightful shipboard gossip.

W. M. WHITELAW.

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## FRANCE, BELGIUM, AND THE NETHERLANDS

## C. W. Cole

*The French Renaissance*. By CATHERINE E. BOYD, Division of Museum Extension, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. [Text for Illustrative Set No. 3, Museum Extension Publications.] (Boston, Division of Museum Extension, Museum of Fine Arts, 1940, portfolio consisting of text of pp. 47, plates 42, \$5.20.) The Boston Museum of Fine Arts is to be congratulated on this intelligently chosen collection of prints illustrating the course of the French Renaissance. It covers a wide range of material and should be of the greatest service to students or teachers interested in any aspect of French history during that period. The pictures are finely mounted on separate sheets, with an eye, one suspects, to classroom use. They are accompanied by a running commentary, and Miss Catherine E. Boyd has also contributed a brief history of the French Renaissance to serve as a guide to the whole. Though the pictures are naturally the chief attraction, Miss Boyd's work deserves special commendation. It is remarkably clear and comprehensive, sound and well balanced. One could scarcely ask for a more perfect general treatment of the French Renaissance in all its political, social, religious, and economic interrelations in the forty odd pages available.

WALLACE K. FERGUSON.

*Vertu: Die Bedeutung des Wortes in der französischen Renaissance*. By WALTER BAURMANN. [Romanische Studien, Heft 51.] (Berlin, Emil Ebering, 1939, pp. 141, 5.70 M.)

*Lamartine ou le sens de l'amour: La première époque de la vie et de la pensée*. By MARCEL BOUCHARD. [Annales de l'Est, publiées par la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Nancy.] (Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1940, pp. xi, 193.) This recent study in the youthful thought of Lamartine and its transformation toward the close of the Restoration complements an earlier work, *Un chapitre de la vie de Lamartine*, by Édouard Drouot, which appeared in 1932. It is a careful analysis of the character and reactions of Lamartine's mind as shown in his letters and

his earlier works. Too often Lamartine has been catalogued as another typical member of the romantic school, though the romanticists did not behave very often as a school. This study shows a sturdier Lamartine than is usually known, a young poet who is not always melancholy and who works in the fields and calls himself a *grand vigneron*. The spirit of Lamartine was strong. It was made up of the early traditions in which he was raised and for which he always retained a deep and wistful love and the sterner stuff of the eighteenth century writers whose works he began to study while he was still under the tutelage of his parents. This same vigor which he had expressed in his love for his vineyards and in his delight in working at them came out in his standard for living—"l'indépendance de la pensée, du caractère, et de la vie". But there was another element equally effective in his make-up. He once remarked, "je ne croyais pas d'esprit, mais je voulais croire de cœur". And that last phrase, M. Drouot points out, is the basis of all Lamartine's thought and action. It was the heart which dictated, not simply in his loves and the crises they brought but also in his relations with men as well as in his verse and his prose.

JOHN M. S. ALLISON.

*The Second Empire*. By OCTAVE AUBRY. Translated by ARTHUR LIVINGSTON. (Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1940, pp. 638, \$5.00.) Alexis de Tocqueville observed in his *Recollections* that there are two types of history—political and literary—and that the latter aims at entertaining the reader with "what is striking rather than with what is significant". If this is true, then M. Aubry's account of Napoleon III is certainly "literary history" and should be placed on library shelves along with Philip Guedalla's *Second Empire*. As literary history, however, Aubry's book has real merit. The dramatic qualities of the material are used to the full, with intrigue after intrigue unfolding in the fine atmosphere of successfully maintained suspense. Terse delineation of character, a wealth of anecdotes, and a brilliant capacity for description make the principal figures of the story and the most important scenes as vivid as though they were actually before us. Nor have the theatricals lost anything in translation, for Arthur Livingston has sensed the spirit of the author and done it full justice. Like most of its kind, this history would have profited, however, from a clearer understanding and presentation of the underlying economic and social factors at work in the body politic. The mere statement that "reaction always seems to rest on excesses in the field of social struggle" (p. 34) only suggests and does not provide an interpretation of the Second Empire's history. Nor does the emphasis placed upon Louis Napoleon's conception of the putative social ideals of the Great Empire seem convincing. In truth, the drama of the book seems to obscure the fact that there was an audience.

SHEPARD B. CLOUGH.

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O. J. Falnes

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## GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, AND HUNGARY

E. N. Anderson

*The Emperor Charles V: The Growth and Destiny of a Man and of a World-Empire.* By KARL BRANDI, Professor of History at the University of Göttingen. Translated from the German by C. V. WEDGWOOD. (New York, Knopf, 1939, pp. 655, \$5.00.) The English translation of Brandi's book on Charles V (the original was reviewed in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIV, 344) has been carefully prepared by the author of *The Thirty Years War*, C. V. Wedgwood. The English text is a faithful rendering of the original, though perhaps a certain heaviness of the German style appears more clearly in the English edition. The work has its limitations. It emphasizes the destiny of a man at the expense of the growth of a world empire, neglecting the general, especially the social and intellectual, history of the period. But even a mere political biography of one of the commanding figures of sixteenth century history, written by one of the foremost scholars in the field, should prove a highly welcome addition to the historical works on the age. Although the reader is left without any guide to the sources and literature of the work, no student of the period will fail to listen to Brandi's critical appraisal of the statesmanship of Charles V and the ups and downs of his political fortunes. Only few people will be able to appreciate fully the amount of research and intricate analysis that is hidden under the surface of an evenly flowing narrative.

Hajo Holborn.

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## ITALY

## Gaudens Megaro

- Machiavelli, "The Prince" and Other Works, including "Reform in Florence", "Gastruccio Gastruciani", "On Fortune", "Letters", "Ten Discourses on Livy". New Translations, Introductions, and Notes by ALLAN H. GILBERT, Duke Uni-

versity. [University Classics, Walter Hendricks, General Editor.] (Chicago, Packard, 1941, pp. ix, 322, \$1.00.) This appears as the first volume of a new series of texts intended primarily for use in colleges and universities. "The purpose of the editor is to present Machiavelli as political thinker and political artist so far as one small volume allows. The first necessity is that he be made to speak English as clearly as possible. . . . There has been no English version of the *Discourse on Reforming the Government of Florence* since the Eighteenth Century, and the Familiar Letters here presented make their first appearance in English as independent units. The same is true of the *Capitolo on Fortune*."

*Sui margini del Congresso di Vienna: Diario di Ferdinando Cornacchia, Gennaio-Settembre, 1815.* By FRANCESCO LEMMI. [Biblioteca storica del Risorgimento italiano.] (Genoa, etc., Società Anonima Editrice Dante Alighieri, Albrighi, Segati e C., 1940, pp. viii, 136, 8 l.) Ferdinando Cornacchia (1768-1842) was sent to the Congress of Vienna as a kind of financial expert for Parma. His chief function was to assist Metternich in devising adequate compensation for Maria Louisa, sister of the king of Spain, in case Parma were given to Napoleon's wife. The editor has chosen a fitting title for this record, which is the work of one of the small fry moving on the periphery of great things. For the most part it consists of statements of what Cornacchia thought was going on. After a summary notation for January and February about the Polish-Saxon problem, regular entries cover the period from February 23 until September 26. Naturally the fullest accounts concern Parma and the related problems of Tuscany, Lucca, and the Legations; but there are several entries concerning the Austrian plan for re-establishing a kingdom of Italy and several dealing with Metternich's policy toward Murat and the Papal States. Considerable mention is made of what was known and what was believed at Vienna about Napoleon's return to power in France. This diary contains but little gossip; actually it furnishes far more information about Italian problems at Vienna than does the diary of San Marzano, published by P. Ilario Rinieri in his *Corrispondenza inedita dei cardinali Consalvi e Pacca* (Turin, 1903). The text is well provided by the editor with notes, most of which identify persons. HOWARD MCGAW SMYTH.

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*Avrahm Yarmolinsky*

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## FAR EASTERN HISTORY

C. H. Peake

*Japan and the United States, 1790-1853: A Study of Japanese Contacts with, and Conceptions of the United States and its People prior to, the American Expedition of 1853-4.* By SHUNZO SAKAMAKI. [The Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Second Series, Volume XVIII.] (Tokyo, the Society, 1939, pp. xi, 204, 5 yen.) This superior research expands previous knowledge of Japanese-American contacts before Perry and exhibits the importance of ships and seafaring men. It draws on abundant research material available in Japan and on Western sources. Its use of considerable detail is satisfying and discriminating. The style is excellent. Nine chapters discuss castaways from American vessels in Japanese waters and American efforts to trade. One chapter examines American contacts with shipwrecked Japanese seamen. Four others consider English studies in Japan, 1760-1853; early maps and knowledge of America; American notices in reports of the privileged Dutch traders at Nagasaki; and diverting Japanese accounts of the United States and its history and customs. Corresponding American conceptions of Japan are omitted. An appendix lists Western ships in Japanese waters; a glossary explains Japanese terms used in the text; and a bibliography adds information and ideas essential to students of American history and international relations. The index (of proper names) would have greater reference value if it also contained analytical entries; the workmanlike conclusion must serve as a partial substitute. Professor Sakamaki's mature addition to scholarship will generate new researches, including increased study of American nautical and consular manuscripts. The book merits wide reading.

ELDON GRIFFIN.

*The China Trade and its Influences.* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1941, pp. xi, 21, 101 figures, 50 cents.) The Metropolitan Museum of Art has organized an exhibition on the China trade and its influence which will be on view till September 21. "It is hoped that the material in the pages that follow will not only provide a handbook to the exhibition, but will also, with the accompanying historical studies, prove a record of more than ephemeral importance."

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## UNITED STATES HISTORY

E. C. Burnett

## GENERAL

*The Literary History of the American Revolution, 1763-1783.* By MOSES COIT TYLER, Sometime Professor at the University of Michigan and at Cornell University. Volume I, 1763-1776; Volume II, 1776-1783. (New York, published for the Facsimile Library by Barnes and Noble, 1941, pp. xxxvii, 521, xix, 527, \$12.50.) The Facsimile Library of Barnes and Noble has done well to issue this reprint of a work that has long been a classic in the literature of American history. In a review of the first volume of the original edition which appeared in the pages of this journal in July, 1897 (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, II, 738-40), Paul Leicester Ford pronounced it to be "far and away the best treatment of the literature of those years of turmoil yet written, so careful and accurate, so full and discriminating, that it must stand apart from all previous attempts". Time has fully justified the distinguished critic's judgment, and in spite of all that has been written since Tyler's day on the history of the Revolutionary period, his work remains the magnum opus in its field. It is appropriate that Dr. Randolph Greenfield Adams should contribute an introductory note to this reprint. For Tyler's courses in history and literature at the University of Michigan aroused in one of his students, William L. Clements, a love of books and an enthusiasm for book collecting that were to result in the formation of the great library of Americana of which Dr. Adams is director. R. L. SCHUYLER.

*The American Revolution considered as a Social Movement.* By J. FRANKLIN JAMESON. Second printing. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1940, pp. 100, \$1.75.) This is a reprint of an important and well-known little volume that has been out of print for several years. In a foreword on Dr. Jameson, Professor Evarts B. Greene says: "The young scholar looking forward to studies in this field cannot do better than begin by reading this suggestive little book. It will show him what kind of problems he has to consider and, what is not less important, the liberal spirit in which they should be approached."

*Early American Court Records: A Publication Program.* By RICHARD B. MORRIS, Associate Professor of History, College of the City of New York. [Anglo-American Legal History Series.] (New York, New York University School of Law, 1941, pp. 37, \$1.00.)

*Early Banks in the District of Columbia, 1792-1818.* By JOHN JOSEPH WALSH. (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1940, pp. viii, 183, \$1.75.) This doctoral dissertation is a perfect example of pedestrian, unimaginative, incomplete, inchoate, but nevertheless moderately useful compilation of miscellaneous data from easily accessible secondary sources. A brief introductory chapter gives a perfunctory survey of colonial private credit and land bank

schemes and of the rise of commercial banking in the United States in the late eighteenth century. Successive chapters are then devoted to more detailed treatments of the pioneer chartered banks in each of the three villages comprised in the original District of Columbia, namely, the Bank of Alexandria, the Bank of Columbia (in Georgetown), and the Bank of Washington. Chapter v deals cursorily with eleven other banks which came into existence prior to 1818 as well as with the Washington branches of the first and second Banks of the United States. In a concluding chapter the author summarizes his not very expert generalizations respecting the salient features of local banking operations during the period under review. Actually, the book covers developments down to about the year 1840. Sundry sins of commission and of omission have been noted but cannot be considered here for lack of space. With all due diffidence it may be observed that Dr. Walsh's several discussions of the first Bank of the United States (pp. 13-16, 154-56) are needlessly inadequate in view of the new material published by the reviewer in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXI (1937), 263-85.

JAMES O. WETTEREAU.

*Romanticism in America: Papers contributed to a Symposium held at the Baltimore Museum of Art, May 13, 14, 15, 1940.* Edited by GEORGE BOAS. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1940, pp. xi, 202, plates xv, \$2.25.) Nothing but praise is due the Baltimore Museum of Art for its plan of bringing together in a three-day symposium every spring a group of scholars from different fields to consider some one significant topic in the history of taste. Unfortunately it does not follow that the papers contributed to such a "Community Art Project" (p. iv) are automatically deserving of publication, especially under a title as pretentious as *Romanticism in America*. Individual contributions to this particular volume are strikingly uneven, and their unrelatedness suggests the need for more prolonged discussion and revision. Of outstanding brilliance is Walter L. Nathan's chapter on Thomas Cole. Besides offering a well-balanced account of the painter's life and work, Mr. Nathan suggests with critical understanding certain important interrelations among the various arts and between European and American sources of romantic influence. Least valuable, on the other hand, are Lubov Keefer's rambling and sometimes incoherent survey of music and Eric F. Goldman's initial chapter on American historians. Though entitled "Democratic Bifocalism: A Romantic Idea and American Historiography", the latter's paper is in effect a eulogy of Charles A. Beard at the expense of Bancroft, Hildreth, McMaster, and Turner. The preference is legitimate, of course, but hardly relevant; and Mr. Goldman bases his argument on a paradoxical thesis rather too frail for the hard riding he gives it. Between these two extremes are a number of essays that are suggestive without being in any sense definitive. This is true of two contributions by the editor, George Boas. His introduction discusses gracefully certain aspects of romanticism but neglects others that belong in a complete picture. His brief chapter on "Romantic Philosophy in America" is chiefly remarkable as the first instance in which a professional philosopher has taken seriously Edgar Allan Poe's prose poem on cosmology, *Eureka*.

ARTHUR E. BESTOR, JR.

*The Civil War Career of Thomas A. Scott.* By SAMUEL RICHEY KAMM. (Wheaton College, Illinois, the author, 1940, pp. vi, 208, \$2.50.) Professors of history who are directing the work of graduate students may well get a valuable suggestion from this monograph. The long career of Thomas A. Scott as a railroad man called for investigation. Prolonged research and a big volume would be required to do it justice. The Civil War portion, however, could be detached and treated



within the compass appropriate to a doctor's dissertation. This has been done with satisfactory results. Scott's important services to the Union cause, as Assistant Secretary of War in 1861-62 and afterwards from time to time in various special capacities, usually involving the transportation of troops and supplies, have been minutely and carefully studied. In general the author's conclusions seem sound, though in a few places he probably claims too much for Scott, and some of his ideas in regard to strategy appear to be of doubtful validity. Scott left no collection of papers. Undaunted by that handicap, the author unearthed a large body of material, much of it in manuscript. This evidence has been well handled, save for an occasional instance of too ready acceptance of the testimony of hostile witnesses or of statements made long after the event. It is to be hoped that the author will now proceed to extend his study to Scott's later career. The present monograph, perhaps in a revised form and an improved literary style, might well be incorporated in a full-length biography. There is need for such a volume, for Thomas A. Scott played a much more important role than has been generally understood.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

*Lincoln: Living Legend.* By T. V. SMITH, Congressman-at-Large from Illinois. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1940, pp. 83, \$1.00.) This essay, commemorating Lincoln's Cooper Union address, is the ripe product of a mind whose blending of philosophy with purposive politics is implicit in every paragraph. Seeing in Lincoln a great principle, the philosopher-congressman elaborates it with epigrammatic distinction, relates it to slavery, then fits it to our own day. Lincoln, as Mr. Smith believes, lifted political compromise to the level of exalted principle. Life, he knew, requires endurance of evil, but "fruitful resignation begins only where human power ends" (p. 38). In embodying this principle Lincoln achieved legendhood. Another concept receives equal emphasis—i.e., that an "unearned increment of value . . . arises when men . . . pool their potencies" (p. 47) while retaining private rights. This is integrated with the "federal principle", which supplied that potent increment of social power that justified acceptance of slavery in some of the states in view of a larger intervention that would arrest its growth. Somewhat broadened, this concept means that "what needs to be done and is not rightly forbidden . . . should be done by whatever power is competent to do it" (p. 16); it is a concept which "turns the . . . increment of our national unity back to enrich the lives of humblest citizens" (p. 72). Though it is stated that this principle "challenged Lincoln's loftiest intellectual loyalty" (p. 11), the present volume has less significance as a contribution on Lincoln than as the credo of an uncommonly thoughtful scholar in politics.

J. G. RANDALL.

*J. Lawrence Laughlin: Chapters in the Career of an Economist.* By ALFRED BORNE-MANN. Introduction by Leon C. Marshall. (Washington, American Council on Public Affairs, 1940, pp. ix, 98, cloth \$2.50, paper \$2.00.)

*Political and Social Growth of the American People, 1865-1940.* By ARTHUR MEIER SCHLESINGER, Francis Lee Higginson Professor of History at Harvard University. Third edition, new edition of *Political and Social Growth of the United States, 1852-1933*. (New York, Macmillan, 1941, pp. xxi, 783, \$3.25.)

*Insurgency: Personalities and Politics of the Taft Era.* By KENNETH W. HECHLER, Lecturer in Government, Barnard College and Columbia College. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1940, pp. 252, \$3.00.) Although considerable research has been expended recently on the "muckrakers", this is the first intensive work yet done on the

small group of insurgent Republicans in Congress who attempted to stay the hand of reactionary politicians and secure a few of the objectives advocated by reformers. The story concerns itself with the fall of Cannon's power, the battle against the Payne-Aldrich tariff and Canadian reciprocity, and the efforts to secure an income tax, a postal savings bank, adequate railroad legislation, and preservation of natural resources. There are thumbnail sketches of the Senate leaders—La Follette, Clapp, Cummins, Bristow, and Beveridge—and much light is thrown on other minor figures of the drama. The study is fortunately based not only on congressional records and newspaper files but also on interviews with some fifty people, including Poindexter, Bristow, and Norris, who played a part in, or were acquainted with, the events described. Correspondence, much of it still in private hands, was also used. This gives to the study a freshness and vitality which it might otherwise lack. The author does something with the roots of insurgency, but he might have done more in interpreting the work and influence of the insurgents. The book, however, is a heartening record, well told, of what a group of industrious and extremely able liberals could do in modifying conservative legislation. They were particularly effective in their work on the Mann-Elkins Act. Without them the legislative record of the Taft administration would have been quite different.

HAROLD U. FAULKNER.

*The Presidential Vote, 1936, supplementing "The Presidential Vote, 1896-1932".*

By EDGAR EUGENE ROBINSON, Margaret Byrne Professor of American History, Stanford University. (Stanford University, Stanford University Press, 1940, pp. vii, 91, \$2.00.) In the present volume Professor Robinson follows closely the plan of his earlier compilation for the campaigns of 1896-1932 (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XL, 767-68). Again the chief table is No. ix, which contains the vote by counties for the entire country. The states are listed in alphabetical order, with the counties of each listed in similar order. For each county is given the Republican vote, the Democratic, the "Other", and the total. Other tables rearrange and recombine the data to show the vote by sections, etc., thus continuing tables in the former volume. There is a final note on the sources, with some information about changes in counties, and some analysis of the composition of the "Other" vote. The comments made in the review of the previous volume apply, in general, to this supplement.

HOMER C. HOCKETT.

*The Legal Status of the Negro.* By CHARLES S. MANGUM, JR. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1940, pp. viii, 436, \$5.00.) Exhaustive search and intelligent ordering of the resulting facts have made this volume an indispensable compendium of information on race relations in this country so far as they are reflected in statutes and court decisions. The amount of detail made necessary by the existence of forty-eight legislating states leaves little space for presentation of the human tragedies which the bald facts often suggest or for the development of their social significance. Nevertheless, the cumulative effect of chapter after chapter, recording, with a minimum of comment, discriminations, restrictions, and handicaps imposed on Negroes of North and South alike, is a fresh understanding of our failure to achieve social justice. Occasional indications of progress appear, but the gains are not impressive. Three important sections deal with civil liberties, education, and the franchise. In the protection of civil liberties there is perhaps some improvement. Small legislative discriminations are occasionally disallowed by the courts, and small privileges are safeguarded by legislation. The all-important educational question, in view of the well-nigh universal segregation of blacks and whites in Southern schools, is the provision of equal facilities for the two races. The degree to which this has been

accomplished, small at best, is largely the result of philanthropic endeavor rather than equal division of state funds by legislative action. Opportunities for education become especially important if one accepts the author's conclusion that the remedy for the existing disfranchisement of the Negro is not a change in legislation but education. "The negro must be educated along the lines of civic consciousness and responsibility". Marriage and family relations, property rights, Jim Crow laws, jury prejudices are among the many topics treated in other sections of the volume. Humor is not missing—witness the decision that a corporation composed entirely of Negroes is not a "colored person".

ELIZABETH DONNAN.

*Leading Constitutional Decisions.* By ROBERT EUGENE CUSHMAN, Goldwin Smith Professor of Government, Cornell University. Seventh edition. (New York, Crofts, 1940, pp. xiv, 354, \$2.00.) The first edition of this book (1925) was reviewed in the July, 1926, issue of this journal (XXXI, 840-41). In its competent selection (*i.e.*, reselection) of subject matter and its valuable editorial introductions (some of which amount to full-sized lectures) the seventh edition preserves the excellencies of the first. The difference between these editions is measurable not by added length (only sixty-six pages) but rather by the startling changes in constitutional and governmental trends which fifteen years, especially seven years or even less, have brought. Much of the new book is made up of New Deal decisions, the latest of which is dated June, 1940. Constitutional classics remain, but *Marbury v. Madison* is significantly flanked by an able dissenting opinion by Justice Gibson of the supreme court of Pennsylvania in 1825, which offers a lucid answer to Marshall's famous doctrine. To the historian of American constitutional development the omission in these pages of such cases as those of *Dred Scott* and *Pollock v. Farmers' Loan . . . Company*, because they no longer state the law, is unsatisfactory; for an understanding of constitutional evolution it is essential to know not only what remains but what has been outmoded and why. Furthermore, the well-stated dissenting doctrine in the *Pollock* case is not outmoded. In such a clumsy expression as "Mr. Chief Justice Hughes" the author follows lawyers' usage. Lawyers must be impressive. For the college student of government Professor Cushman's competent volume, now happily brought up to date, offers a handy and highly useful tool.

J. G. RANDALL.

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## NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

*A Reference List of Manuscripts relating to the History of Maine.* Directed by ELIZABETH RING. Parts I and II, compiled under the Auspices of the Department of History and Government of the University of Maine with Funds provided by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. Part II, with an Introduction on Maine Maps by Fannie Hardy Eckstorm. Part III, Index, compiled by the Historical Records Survey, Division of Professional and Service Projects, Work Projects Administration. [University of Maine Studies, Second Series, No. 45.] (Orono, University Press, 1938, 1939, 1941, pp. xx, 427, xxxv, 261, xvi, 211, \$2.00, \$1.25, \$1.00.)

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## SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

*Texas Letters*. FREDERICK C. CHABOT, Editor. [Yanaguana Society Publications, Volume V.] (San Antonio, the Society, 1940, pp. 188, \$5.00.) This volume is a miscellaneous ensemble of pioneer impressions of Texas, centering primarily in San Antonio. In selecting material for it the editor has drawn upon local family and public collections, and he has not overlooked certain rare books and early newspapers. It is, however, no mere product of antiquarian patriotism but presents in interesting detail a variety of views upon local contemporary pioneer life and a few side lights on more prominent historic happenings. Most of the letters fall within the two decades between 1830 and 1850, and this fact, plus their local appeal, gives to the collection a certain unity. The work shows commendable care in reproducing the text of the letters. A few footnotes give definite references to sources. The editor intersperses biographical and other explanatory comments among the letters and has added a few illustrations made up of early sketches, plans, and facsimile pages, and some explanatory letters of recent date. The volume would obviously have been more usable had the editor presented most of his contributions in a definite introduction, and had he furnished an index. It was doubtless necessary to group separate offerings under appropriate headings, but in lieu of an index some sort of time or topic list would have been helpful. Nevertheless, the patience of one who seeks local color for an interesting period in Texas history will find its reward, and the book will further the Yanaguana Society's purpose "to encourage the publication of authentic and documented records of [the] individual service[s] of San Antonio pioneers".

ISAAC J. COX.

*Captain Lee Hall of Texas*. By DORA NEILL RAYMOND. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1940, pp. xiii, 350, \$2.75.) Captain Lee Hall, young, handsome, tall, red-headed, quiet, and fearless, was a striking figure and an ideal frontier peace officer. He had been a schoolteacher, city marshal, and deputy sheriff before he became an officer in the Texas Ranger service in 1876 at the age of twenty-seven. Though he remained in that service less than four years, he won a leading place among the extraordinary group of men who cleansed Texas of scores of outlaws during the post-Reconstruction days. This was the high point of his career; for after he resigned his commission at the insistence of his bride, misfortune dogged him. He was in turn a rancher, merchant, Indian agent, and promoter, but he was unable to adjust himself to the devious ways of business or politics. Poverty separated him from his wife and children. He tried soldiering in the war with Spain and in the Philippines but was discharged because of physical disability. Then more disappointments, penury, and loneliness until his death in San Antonio in 1911. Dr. Raymond has based her narrative upon Hall's papers, the testimony of his surviving friends, official records, and newspapers. She has told Hall's glamorous and pathetic story with sympathetic understanding and notable literary skill.

CHARLES W. RAMSDELL.

*Editor in Politics*. By JOSEPHUS DANIELS. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1941, pp. xix, 644, \$3.50.) In this second volume of his reminiscences the ambassador to Mexico arrives at the age of fifty and devotes most of his pages to a biography of the Raleigh *News and Observer*, to whose masthead his name was elevated on August 12, 1894. Daniels was back in Raleigh for most of the period, after a brief service in Washington as chief clerk in the Department of the Interior under Hoke Smith and before he returned to the national capital as Secretary of the Navy under Woodrow Wilson. His *News and Ob-*



server, if we are to take the author at his word, loved a fight, pulled no punches, and yet was capable of affectionate relations with many of its victims. The volume, like its predecessor, is gossipy throughout, filled with names and dates and episodes and without a plot. It shows the same remarkable recollection for the precise words of long-lost conversations and leans heavily on the file of the beloved newspaper. Most of its content has to do with North Carolina politics and with the emergence of William Jennings Bryan; where it deals with matters outside the observation of the author, it is generally historically unsophisticated and always Democratic. It is likely long to be popular with writers of footnotes, even if these writers have to go elsewhere for the facts on which the footnotes throw considerable light. And there are two more volumes to follow.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

*South Carolina: A Guide to the Palmetto State.* Compiled by Workers of the Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of South Carolina. [American Guide Series.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1941, pp. xxvii, 514, \$2.75.)

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## WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

*The Catholic Church in Indiana, 1789-1834*. By THOMAS T. McAVOY, Archivist of the University of Notre Dame. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1940, pp. 226, \$2.25.) Father McAvoy of Notre Dame University, under the direction of Professor John A. Krout of Columbia University, has brought together in this doctoral dissertation a wealth of detailed information concerning the beginnings of the organized Catholic Church in Indiana from the days of Gibault to the installation of Bruté as bishop of Vincennes. Based upon a wide range of unprinted letters in diocesan and Midwestern archives, it supplements general and denominational histories of the area, including Father William McNamara's *The Catholic Church on the Northern Indiana Frontier* (1931), as it portrays the social and religious life of the *habitants*, the experiences of Sulpician and other French missionaries driven forth from France by the Terror, the shift from French to English and to American allegiance, the gradual merger, even unto almost complete disappearance, of the French culture into the American frontier economy. The study is well done, sound in research, well organized, and reasonably detached despite some apologetic inclinations. The story of Gibault is not clarified, nor is there any development of the question, hinted at, as to whether the characteristics of the Catholic Church in the Middle West are due to Gallic background or frontier democracy. RICHARD J. PURCELL.

*History of the Donner Party: A Tragedy of the Sierra*. By C. F. MCGLASHAN. With Foreword, Notes, and a Bibliography by GEORGE H. HINKLE and BLISS MCGLASHAN HINKLE. (Stanford University, Stanford University Press, 1940, pp. lv, 261, \$3.00.) In 1871 C. F. McGlashan was employed as a young schoolteacher at Truckee, near the summit of the Sierra Nevada some five miles from Donner Lake. The Pacific Railroad had just been completed, and Truckee was a wild frontier town with but few evidences of culture—a school, a church, and a newspaper. The last had already had a varied and precarious existence when young McGlashan decided to take it over. As a scheme to promote subscriptions he projected a series of articles on the Donner Party. Soon such an interest was aroused that he found himself involved in exhaustive research to confirm or refute the many statements made to him by interested people. In 1879 he published these results in a small volume. Continued correspondence and discussions led to a further revision and to the publication of a second edition the following year. It is this second edition which has been here reproduced by photolithographic process. Historians owe much to the patient industry of McGlashan, who brought together the facts of the tragic Donner episode. Later writers may have been able to present added details or to improve upon the literary style, but McGlashan's work will remain the standard, as well as the pioneer, presentation of the facts. The editors have made a notable contribution in their lengthy introduction as well as in the maps, editors' notes, and bibliography. An error on page xl gives "Robert Russell McCarthy" instead of Robert Glass Cleland as the author of *Pathfinders*. The Stanford Press is to be commended on the neat and attractive appearance of this valuable work. OWEN C. COY.

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## LATIN-AMERICAN HISTORY

J. W. Caughey

*The Huancavelica Mercury Mine: A Contribution to the History of the Bourbon Renaissance in the Spanish Empire.* By ARTHUR PRESTON WHITAKER, University of Pennsylvania. [Harvard Historical Monographs.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1941, pp. xiii, 150, \$2.00.) Much of the economic history of Spanish America is still unwritten. This monograph is a contribution to the history of mining in colonial Peru. It deals with one of the two important mercury mines in the Spanish Empire and the only important mercury mine in Spanish America. Because this mineral greatly increased the yield of gold and silver ores and because Huancavelica was practically the only source of supply of mercury available to miners of Peru, this mine was of supreme importance to the prosperity of the colony. In most respects the story is well told. The author writes clearly and displays keen insight. Little of significance escapes him. Usually the narrative is fully supported by citations to sources of information, and an ample bibliography is included. In the opinion of this reviewer the monograph would have been more attractive and useful if the long Spanish quotations had been translated and if the footnotes had been divided into two classes: explanatory notes placed at the bottom of the page and citations to sources of information at the end of the volume. It is assumed, of course, that such a monograph is intended solely for specialists in the field; yet even spe-

cialists might profit by an explanation of certain Spanish terms, a discussion of the origin of the name "Huancavelica", and a description of such matters as the patio process of amalgamation. The management of this important mine (1570-1813) reveals the corruption and inefficiency of the Spanish administrative system as well as frightful exploitation of labor. In view of the failure of the Bourbons to make any important improvements either in the output of the mine or in the conditions of laborers working it, one may question the appropriateness of the subtitle of the work.

J. FRED RIPPY.

*Handbook of Latin American Studies*, 1939. No. 5, *A Selective Guide to the Material published in 1939 on Anthropology, Archives, Art, Economics, Education, Folklore, Geography, Government, History, International Relations, Law, Language and Literature, Libraries, Music, and Philosophy*. Edited for the Committee on Latin American Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies by LEWIS HANKE, Library of Congress, and MIRON BURGIN, Library of Congress. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1940, pp. xvi, 476, \$4.00.)

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## HISTORICAL NEWS

### AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

As stated in the report of the Executive Secretary for 1940, published in our last issue (XLVI, 738), Dr. Guy Stanton Ford has been appointed Managing Editor of the *American Historical Review*. After August 15 all articles submitted to the *American Historical Review*, book reviews, and all other communications intended for the Managing Editor should be sent to Dr. Ford at the new editorial office of the *Review*, Library of Congress Annex, Washington, D. C.

The following statement was released in May by the Executive Secretary of the American Historical Association for publication in the press:

In view of the multiplying evidences of hostility toward certain history textbooks in the schools, it is appropriate that the Executive Committee of the American Historical Association should announce its considered views on a subject of such far-reaching importance. The American Historical Association consists of nearly thirty-five hundred teachers, investigators, and writers of history in all parts of the country. Since its founding in 1884, it has striven ceaselessly to improve methods of research and instruction and to add to the people's knowledge of their past. Among its presidents have been two Presidents of the United States. Its membership embraces many veterans of the Spanish-American War and the First World War. In every section of the Union, members of the Association have attested their devotion to the commonweal, not only by conscientiously discharging their professional duties but also by participating in a wide variety of civic activities. It is not reasonable to suppose that men and women of this type would write and use textbooks calculated to undermine the loyalty of their students.

Genuine patriotism, no less than honesty and sound scholarship, requires that textbook authors and teachers should endeavor to present a truthful picture of the past. Those who oppose this view would seem to believe that the history of the United States contains things so disgraceful that it is unsafe for the young to hear of them. This we emphatically deny. If the men who built the nation had their share of human frailties, the story as a whole is one of continuing inspiration to the people of this and other lands.

To omit controversial questions from the historical account, as is sometimes urged, would be to garble and distort the record. The history of the American people has been hammered out on the anvil of experience. It is a story of achievement, often against heavy odds. Some of the most glorious passages have consisted in the struggle to overcome social and economic injustices. Failures as well as successes carry lessons of which posterity can ill afford to be ignorant. In discussing controversial issues the textbook writer has an obligation to give both sides. By so doing he not only upholds the ideal of presenting a truthful picture but also of encouraging in young people that spirit of inquiry, open-mindedness, and fair play which lies at the root of our democratic institutions.



History teaching must, of course, be graded according to the successive levels of instruction; but in this respect it does not differ from other studies, such as English and mathematics. The essential consideration in history teaching as in other courses is the degree of complexity of the subject matter. This complexity should be adjusted to meet the capacities of young students by simplification, not by perversion.

Judgment as to the merits of a textbook is the function of those most competent to form a judgment: the teachers concerned and professional scholars. A reasoned appraisal requires an up-to-date knowledge of the subject, a judicial frame of mind, familiarity with school curricula, and practical experience in teaching students of the age for which the book is intended. This function cannot safely be left to propagandist organizations or to self-appointed groups of citizens who judge on partial evidence or are unsympathetic with the continuing and permanent role of education in a democracy. Such minority groups seek, by ballyhoo or blackmail, to substitute their own opinion for that of those best qualified to act in the public interest. Even though these critics cloak themselves in the mantle of "patriotism", they are guilty of practices which the totalitarian governments have carried to ruthless efficiency. Sheer dishonesty enters in when criticism is based upon phrases and sentences wrenched from their context. Such irresponsible efforts to control the school curriculum can in the end lead only to a ruinous deterioration of both textbooks and teaching and to producing young citizens with a warped knowledge of the experience of their forebears in dealing with problems often akin to those of the present.

#### OTHER HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

Among recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following may be noted: two photographs of the Lincoln Cathedral original copy of Magna Carta; 11,867 frames (pages) of microfilm, enlargement prints, and photostats of manuscripts in Spanish and Mexican archives (Madrid, Seville, Mexico City), 1512 to 1700, received from the Carnegie Institution of Washington; thirty-seven Mexican papers (manuscripts and printed documents) concerning the city council of Leon, state of Guanajuato, 1711 to 1859; seventeen pages of photostats of letters of Thomas Thompson, missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in New Jersey, 1745 to 1750 (Series B, S.P.G., London); 149 boxes and twelve shelves of papers of the family of William Cabell Rives, including papers of Thomas Walker and James Madison, *ca.* 1758 to 1920 and undated; eighty-nine papers of, or relating to, William Paterson (American jurist) and members of his family, 1765 to 1806; thirty pieces of official records of the Danish West Indies concerning British depredations on Danish commerce during the American Revolution, 1776 to 1780; 118 papers of Andrew Bell, secretary to Sir Henry Clinton, 1777 to 1838; photostats of nine miscellaneous documents, mainly public, relating to the establishment of the government of the United States under the Constitution, October, 1787, to December 11, 1790 (originals in various places); copy of report of the United States Commissioners on claims of the several

states, April 29, 1790, copy certified by John Beckley, clerk of the House of Representatives, February 10, 1791; twenty-two boxes of carbon copies of typewritten transcripts of county records of Tennessee, 1792 to 1882; twenty-one papers of Wilson Cary Nicholas, 1797 to 1813; 217 papers of the Teackle family of Maryland (mainly letters of John Teackle, jr., and his children to Charles N. Banckers), December 3, 1803, to May 29, 1830; twenty-nine boxes of papers additional to the Robert Garrett Collection of Garrett Family Papers, 1820 to 1863 and undated; four account books and fifty-two loose papers of George S. Cook, Confederate photographer during the Civil War, 1845 to 1864; two journals of James Colder (American missionary to China) and ten related papers, December 15, 1850, to December 31, 1853; negative photostats of ten letters from Townsend Harris to Catherine A. Drinker, November 21, 1856, to October 29, 1862; twenty letters from Francis Parkman to John Gilmary Shea, 1856 to 1872 and undated; five volumes of diaries of Rufus Mead, jr., Sergeant, Fifth Connecticut Regiment, during the Civil War, August 28, 1861, to May 29, 1865; fifty-eight papers of Silas W. Browning (abolitionist and Union soldier), October 14, 1862, to November 21, 1894; forty-five papers of Donald McDonald Dickinson, 1863 to 1917; photostat of clipping from annual message of Abraham Lincoln to Congress, December 6, 1864, authenticated by John D. DeFrees, public printer, June 1, 1866; microfilms of about 2,475 pages and typewritten copies of excerpts from twelve letters, additional to the papers of, and relating to, Theodore Roosevelt, 1878 to 1940; three letters, photostats of eighty-nine papers, typewritten copies of six papers, and two printed pamphlets, additional to the papers of, and relating to, Woodrow Wilson, April 19, 1886, to November, 1928; four boxes of additional papers of Richmond Pearson Hobson, 1898 to 1937 and undated; two boxes of additional papers of Chandler Parsons Anderson, 1898 to 1928 and undated.

The Archivist of the United States announces that Dr. Roscoe R. Hill, chief of the former Division of Classification since May, 1935, has been appointed chief of the Division of State Department Archives. Civilian problems during the World War are reflected in such recent accessions of the National Archives as records of the United States Housing Corporation, 1918-35, of the Shipbuilding Labor Adjustment Board, 1917-19, and of the War Savings Committee in Kansas City, 1918-21. Recent additions to the naval records in the National Archives include correspondence of the Bureau of Ordnance and Hydrography, 1842-63; copies of letters sent by the Bureau of Navigation, 1850-1912; correspondence of the Bureau of Supplies and Accounts, 1891-1912; file copies of printed material originally distributed as confidential information to navy officers and officials, 1903-36; miscellaneous records of Marine Corps forces in Cuba, 1912, and in China, 1930-34; and ship files of radio messages received and sent by naval and

transport vessels, 1917-19. In order to make the material in the National Archives more available for use by scholars and other investigators, a systematic program for the compilation of "finding mediums" was recently initiated. The major bodies of archival material are being identified and registered as "record groups", and "preliminary check lists", covering the various parts of each record group, are to be compiled. These check lists will list the series, files, volumes, or other units of material approximately as they are found without waiting for final arrangement; and copies of these check lists will be available in processed form for use within the National Archives. As soon as possible all the check lists for a given record group will be integrated, revised, and issued in processed form for general use as a "preliminary inventory"; and eventually, after the material has been definitively arranged, this document in turn will be superseded by a "final inventory". Other types of finding mediums, such as calendars, special lists, and indexes, will also be compiled from time to time as the need arises. An experimental program for the production of "edited microcopies" of archival material has been undertaken by the National Archives as an outgrowth of its regular photographic services. When orders for microfilms of complete files or series of archival material of general research interest are filled, a negative is retained as a "file microcopy" in order to avoid the necessity of photographing the same material repeatedly. In preparing such material for reproduction, title pages, tables of contents, introductions, and sometimes lists of documents, calendars, and even indexes are supplied as circumstances make desirable; and the products are called "edited microcopies". Projects of this sort now under way include the letters received by the Michigan Superintendency of Indian Affairs, 1819-35, the correspondence of the Oregon Superintendency of Indian Affairs, 1848-73, and the territorial papers of the State Department relating to Colorado, 1859-74; and, as soon as they are completed, positive prints of these edited microcopies may be purchased by anyone interested. Other projects will be undertaken in response to the needs of the National Archives or the requests of interested institutions and individuals.

The William L. Clements Library, thanks to the generosity of Dr. Lawrence Reynolds of Detroit, a member of its committee of management, has been enabled to purchase the papers of Henry Goulburn, one of the British peace commissioners at Ghent in 1814. These papers include instructions and replies passing between the British commissioners and their government, correspondence between the American and British commissioners, memoranda and drafts of various articles of the proposed treaty, and, most important, a signed and sealed copy of the Treaty of Ghent itself in the handwriting of Henry Clay, one of the American commissioners.

An Experimental Division of Library Cooperation has been established in the Library of Congress headed by Herbert A. Kellar, director of the

McCormick Historical Association in Chicago, and financed for a period of one year by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation. In an announcement issued in April the Librarian of Congress said:

The broad objectives of the new division may be stated both negatively and affirmatively. Negatively, the purpose is so to coordinate the activities of American libraries as to eliminate needless waste and competitive action. Affirmatively, the purpose is so to coordinate the activities of American libraries as to make their resources, *considered as a whole*, adequate to the needs of American scholarship. Affirmatively also, the purpose is to bring about such improvement as can be effected by cooperative effort in the various services and technical functions of libraries—as, for example, the storage of books, the exchange and loan of reproductions, the cataloging of materials, etc.

The library of the University of Arkansas has recently established a manuscript division, which will be under the direction of Marvin A. Miller, librarian of the university. The division will attempt to gather materials of historical importance.

Announcement has been made of the founding of a new state historical society, the Arkansas Historical Association, which will have as its objects the publication of a quarterly journal of Arkansas history; the location, collection, and preservation of historical material; and the stimulation of interest in the past of Arkansas. President J. H. Reynolds of Hendrix College was elected president of the new organization, which was formed at a meeting in Little Rock on Washington's Birthday; Professor Fred Harvey Harrington of the University of Arkansas is secretary-treasurer. Dr. David Y. Thomas, professor emeritus in the University of Arkansas, is to be editor of the new journal.

The first issue of the *Journal of Central European Affairs* was published in April. This new quarterly was established in the belief that "the importance of the problems of Central Europe for the peace and progress of the rest of the world has been in general inadequately recognized both in Western Europe and in America". It will focus attention on political and diplomatic history, current affairs, and economic, social, and ethnic problems. Professor S. Harrison Thomson of the University of Colorado is managing editor. The annual subscription is \$3.50, the price of single numbers, \$1.00.

Announcement has been made of a prepublication sale campaign by the Columbia University Press for the *Atlas of Congressional Roll Calls: An Analysis of Yea-Nay Votes*. The forty-one volumes of this work have been prepared by the Historical Records Survey of New Jersey, a part of the Work Projects Administration, under the editorial direction of Clifford Lord of the department of history of Columbia University. The *Atlas* presents maps and roll calls of every ye and nay vote in Congress from

1789 to 1932, with identifying summaries of each vote, and an index organized by the congressman's name, by subject, and by bill or resolution number and is designed to represent graphically the geographic distribution of congressional votes. The usefulness of this new tool to the historian (social, political, or economic), the student of regionalism or sectionalism, the political scientist, the biographer, and the sociologist is evident. The studies of congressional government, public opinion, the rise and fall of political parties, party regularity, gerrymandering, regional and sectional loyalties and thought patterns, pressures upon Congress, political behavior and social psychology which may be expected to flow from the examination of these volumes should greatly enrich the interpretation of American history and of the democratic form of government. New tests of existing hypotheses and the formulation of new hypotheses in these fields may be expected.

Mention was made in our last January issue (XLVI, 501) of the exchanges of students and professors between the United States and other American republics in pursuance of the Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations. The announcement that Mexico has ratified the convention brings to fifteen the number of republics which have agreed to carry out its terms. A total of fourteen graduate students from Latin-American countries are now in residence in the United States, and ten graduate students from the United States have undertaken special courses of study in Latin-American countries. Arthur S. Aiton of the University of Michigan and Gordon Ireland of the Portia Law School have been added to the list of professors to teach in Latin-American countries.

The following Guggenheim fellowships have been awarded for research in historical subjects: Lewis E. Atherton, University of Missouri, the political, economic, social, and intellectual position and influence of the small town and country merchant in the days of slavery; André Benjamin Delattre, Wayne University, an edition of the correspondence of Voltaire with Théodore, François, and Jean-Robert Tronchin; William Thomas Easterbrook, Brandon College, University of Manitoba, the economic history of the Pacific Northwest of Canada; Paul Theodore Ellsworth, University of Cincinnati, the economy of Chile, 1920-40; Eugene Alfred Forsey, McGill University, the system of cabinet government in Canada and its provinces since 1867; Gerald S. Graham, Queen's University, the influence of sea power on the political history of Canada from colonial times to the present; Lewis Ulysses Hanke, Hispanic Foundation, Library of Congress, the ecclesiastical and legal aspects of the Spanish discovery, exploration, and administration of the New World; Eric Alfred Havelock, Victoria College, University of Toronto, Socrates from a social point of view; Doro Levi, refugee from Italy, studies of the mosaics of Antioch-on-the-Orontes, based upon examples of those mosaics in the United States;

Clarence Dickinson Long, jr., Wesleyan University, unemployment in the United States; Arthur J. Marder, Dorchester, British sea power in the dreadnought era, with special reference to the German naval menace from 1905 to 1914; Helen Sullivan Mims, Bronxville, the history of the democratic tradition in Spain; Gustavus Myers, New York City, the sources of bigotry in the United States; Edward Rosen, City College, New York, the role of hypothesis in the emergence of modern science, with special reference to the Copernican revolution in astronomy; Albert Katz Weinberg, Institute for Advanced Study, the historical evolution of American nationalism; Saul Sol Weinberg, Urbana, a comparative archaeological study of the Aegean region and of the Near East in the Neolithic Period and Early Bronze Age; and David Harris Willson, University of Minnesota, a biography of James I of England.

The Committee on Grants of the Rutherford B. Hayes—Lucy Webb Hayes Foundation announces that grants for 1941-42 have been made to the following persons: Festus P. Summers of West Virginia University for a life of William L. Wilson (renewal); Frontis W. Johnston of Davidson College for a life of Zebulon Baird Vance (renewal); Charles C. Tansill of Fordham University for a study on the political career of Thomas F. Bayard, 1869-85; Selig Adler of the University of Buffalo for a study of the influence of George F. Edmunds on national affairs, 1866-91; Nannie M. Tilley of Duke University for a study of the bright-tobacco industry, 1861-1929; and Allen W. Moger of Washington and Lee University for a study on Virginia in transition, 1880-1914. Applications for the year 1942-43 should be in the hands of the secretary to the Committee on Grants, Curtis W. Garrison, The Hayes Foundation, Fremont, Ohio, by January 15, 1942.

The Royal Historical Society has announced the award of the Alexander Prize for 1941 to R. A. L. Smith for his essay on "The *Regimen Scaccarii* in English Monasteries". Essays submitted in competition for the prize to be awarded in 1942 must be sent in by February 28. For further particulars apply to the Secretary, Royal Historical Society, 96, Cheyne Walk, London, S. W. 10.

At the annual meeting of the Mediaeval Academy of America in April the Haskins Medal, awarded annually for work of outstanding distinction in the field of medieval studies, was presented to Professor William E. Lunt for his book, *Financial Relations of the Papacy with England to 1327*.

The Henry E. Bourne Lectureship in History was established this year at Flora Stone Mather College of Western Reserve University in honor of Professor Emeritus Bourne, head of the Mather history department from 1892 until his retirement in 1930 and subsequently editor of the *American Historical Review* and consultant to the Library of Congress. The lecture-

ship is sponsored by the Mather Alumnae Historical Association. The general theme of the lectureship for this year, "The Century of Genius: Transition from Medieval to Modern Science in Seventeenth Century England", was introduced by Marjorie Hope Nicolson, graduate professor of English at Columbia University, on January 22 with a public lecture on "Science and Imagination". The second event, a five-day seminar, patterned on the familiar graduate school technique, with a selected membership of students representing various fields of interest, was conducted during the week of March 3 by Dorothy Stimson, professor of history and academic dean of Goucher College. The lectureship is one of several enterprises which the Bourne Fund, established in 1936 for the purpose of enriching the Mather history department, has supported. Among these have been the preparation of a bibliography of Professor Bourne's collection of materials on the French Revolution, presented to the Mather library, and the projected publication by Harper and Brothers of a collection of essays by the late Professor Robert C. Binkley of Mather College.

By a special arrangement between Columbia University and the New York Historical Society, the latter's director, Alexander J. Wall, has been made associate in history at Columbia and will offer next year, in the Historical Society building, a special course for the training of a select group of American history graduate students in archival work and in the work of historical society libraries and museums.

#### PERSONAL

When, in the spring of 1940, Professor Otto Hintze died at the age of eighty, historical scholarship lost one of its finest and most alert spirits. Although subjected to humiliating indignities by the Nazis before his death, he was by all odds one of Germany's profoundest and most original historians, comparable in his chosen field of economic, social, and comparative constitutional history to Max Weber or to Gustav Schmoller in the generation that preceded him. Modest, indifferent to fame and popularity, he became, after his early retirement from his professorship at the University of Berlin, above all the historian's historian. The only book he ever wrote for a popular audience, *Die Hohenzollern und ihr Werk* (1915), never achieved a wider popularity chiefly because of his unswerving intellectual and scholarly integrity, though it is easily the best history of Prussia ever written and is likely to remain so for some time. His first study in economic history, *Die preussische Seidenindustrie* (1892), exhibits that rare combination of conceptual clarity, exhaustive study of the facts, and comparative procedure which was to distinguish all his later work. Shortly afterwards he succeeded his master, Gustav Schmoller, as editor of the *Acta Borussica*, and for the next thirty years he read documents in the Prussian archives, an experience from which he contracted the eye ailment that tormented the



last years of his life but which gave him that solid and comprehensive knowledge of social and constitutional history that made him an undisputed master in the field. Yet if one is to grasp the immense scope of his later work, one should recall that he was an equally close student of political science and sociology. He became in his later years the nearest German equivalent of Joseph Barthélemy in France, Ernest Barker in Great Britain, and Charles Beard in the United States, although remaining always and essentially the historian. He was a conspicuous exception to the nationalist intellectual isolationism which was a common trait of so many German historians of his generation, and his numerous studies bear abundant evidence of his acquaintance with the work of French, British, and American scholars. This may serve to explain his growing concern with the problems of comparative economic and constitutional history, of which his magnificent essays on feudalism, the regime of the estates, and modern capitalism (his criticism of Sombart) are only the most brilliant examples. Shortly before his death he collected the best of these essays and published them under the title *Aufsätze zur allgemeinen Verfassungsgeschichte*, the book which is most representative of the remarkable scope and depth of his scholarship. Not included in this volume, however, are those powerful essays on the origin of constitutionalism in Prussia, on the Prussian nobility, on the Political Testaments of Frederick the Great, which, taken together, constitute the most penetrating studies on the social evolution of Prussia ever written. Death prevented him from completing his last literary project, a comprehensive comparative constitutional history of Europe.

Isobel D. Thornley, whose special field of work was the borderland between constitutional history and law in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was killed early in February, 1941, by the direct hit of a bomb on her London house. Born and brought up in the Midlands, she took her B.A. from the University of London in 1915 and her M.A. in 1917. In the latter year she was awarded the Alexander Medal of the Royal Historical Society. During the academic year of 1918-19 she taught in East London College, University of London, and in 1919 was transferred to University College, where she taught until 1928. She was granted a leave of absence for 1925-26 to accept an associate professorship of history at Vassar College. In 1920 she published *England under the Yorkists, 1460-1485*; she edited with Dr. Plucknett the year book of 11 Richard II, which was published in 1937; and with A. H. Thomas, the librarian of Guildhall, she edited the Great Chronicle of London in 1939. She was a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society and at the time of her death Hon. Secretary of the British Archaeological Association.

David Schley Schaff, church historian, who died on March 2 in his eighty-ninth year, was professor of ecclesiastical history in Lane Theological Seminary, Cincinnati, Ohio (1897-1903), and thereafter in Western

Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, until his retirement in 1925, when he became lecturer at Union Theological Seminary, New York (1926-30). His work as a historian was conceived in the spirit of his father, Philip Schaff, and executed partly in collaboration with him. The elder Schaff, Swiss by birth and German by training, undertook to mediate between confessions and continents. In three monumental enterprises he sought to make available to the English-speaking world the best results of European scholarship. The first was the *Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, consisting in part of an abridgment and translation of Herzog's *Realencyklopädie* and in part of new material. The son was an associate editor with his father throughout the first three editions (1882 through 1894) and contributed articles as far removed as Daniel and Mexico, Inspiration and the Church of England. The second great endeavor was the *History of the Christian Church* from the beginnings through the Swiss Reformation (seven volumes in eight). David Schaff did the fifth volume in two parts, each close to a thousand pages (New York, 1907-10). The period covered is that from Gregory VII to the Reformation. The work is broadly conceived to include the history of institutions, ideas, worship, religious education, and popular practices, with extensive bibliographies and annotations. The point of view is distinctly Protestant. The third extensive project of the elder Schaff was a series of translations of the Fathers. To the *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (second series) David Schaff contributed the translation of Saint Augustine's *Our Lord's Sermon on the Mount*. The collaborative studies led to others of an entirely independent character: a translation of the *De Ecclesia* of John Huss and a life of Huss (both New York, 1915). A complete bibliography of David Schaff's works up to 1901 appeared in the history of the Yale class of 1873 for that year. Autobiographical material is to be found in the published reports of the class from 1904 to 1926. A biography will appear in the obituary record of graduates of Yale University in January, 1942.

Worthington Chauncey Ford died on March 7 in his eighty-fourth year on the S.S. *Excalibur*, en route from Lisbon to New York, under the American flag as he would have wished. He was one of the oldest and most distinguished members of the American Historical Association, which he served as president in the year 1917. Born in Brooklyn on February 16, 1858, he studied at the Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute and at Columbia College and began his career in 1882 as an editorial writer on the New York *Herald*. From 1885 to 1889 he served as chief of the Bureau of Statistics in the Department of State. In 1889 he left the department and devoted two years in Washington to historical studies. From 1893 to 1898 he was chief of the Bureau of Statistics of the Treasury Department and was later chief of the Statistical Department of the Boston Public Library, from which he resigned in 1902. Ford had become a passionate devotee of Ameri-

can history, particularly the history of the American Revolution. After completing a commission to overhaul and reorganize the bookkeeping system of the City of New York, he settled down to a career of historical editing and writing, from 1902 to 1909 as chief of the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress and from 1909 to 1929 as editor of the *Massachusetts Historical Society*. A bibliography of his prodigious editorial activities and writings is yet to be compiled, but it is safe to say that he was the most prolific editor in American historiography. From his desk there flowed to the printer a constant stream of copy, including not only the routine publications of the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress and later the publications of the *Massachusetts Historical Society* but also such significant source collections as the first fifteen volumes of the *Journals of the Continental Congress*, *The Writings of George Washington* (14 vols., 1889-98), the *Bibliography of the Massachusetts House Journals*, *Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation*, reproductions of important colonial newspapers and rare Americana, and editorial supervision of such consequential publications as the autobiography of Charles Francis Adams, the *Education of Henry Adams*, *Mont St. Michel and Chartres*, *The Writings of John Quincy Adams, 1779-1823* (7 vols., New York, 1913-17), and other numerous publications from the archives of the Adams family. In the Library of Congress card catalogue there are 104 cards under Ford's name. He found time to serve in many advisory capacities to libraries and publishing enterprises and on numerous committees, notably the Historical Manuscripts Commission of the American Historical Association. His presidential address, published in the January, 1918, issue of this *Review* (XXIII, 273-86), was on the appropriate theme, "The Editorial Function of United States History". Its "formality" was perfectly disguised. He did what no president of the Association had ever done before or has ever done since: he delivered every word of it without a note of any kind, apparently extemporaneously. During his long career Ford was frequently invited to deliver various significant lectures on American history and was the recipient of numerous academic honors, including A.M. (Harvard, 1907), Litt. D. (Brown, 1919), LL.D. (Michigan, 1920). Among his more important writings are: *George Washington* (2 vols., New York, 1900); "John Quincy Adams and the Monroe Doctrine", *American Historical Review*, July, 1902 (VII, 676-96), and October, 1902 (VIII, 28-52). Upon retirement as editor of the *Massachusetts Historical Society* in 1929, Ford accepted appointment as director of the European mission of the Library of Congress, which had been organized in 1927 for securing facsimiles of documents in European archives and libraries relating to American history. He administered this project and its aftermath until 1935. The last six years of his life were spent in retirement in France, mostly at Le Vésinet, S. et O., whence he conducted a voluminous correspondence with his many friends in the United States and elsewhere. During this period he found time, after visits home, for his

last piece of editing: *The Letters of Henry Adams, 1858-1918* (2 vols., Boston, 1930-38). When the Germans broke into France in June, 1940, Ford found himself on his annually scheduled trip to a watering place in the Pyrenees. He rode the crest of the invasion wave into unoccupied France, where he remained until late February, 1941. The thousands of letters written during his long lifetime constitute a rich collection of source material, and it is to be hoped that they will be collected and preserved, perhaps published. Personally, Ford was a kindly but outwardly formal man who would be popularly characterized as a "gentleman of the old school". He was versatile in the practice and appreciation of the arts, dextrous in touch, buoyant in spirit, catholic in interests. In controversy, which he did not avoid, he could be downright and trenchant. Beneath his formality and by the side of his close application there glowed a rich, emotional nature and a never-failing capacity for engaging and enduring friendship. He was particularly generous and helpful to younger scholars and a fount of wisdom to men of all ages. His death is an irreparable loss to American historiography and a bereavement to a host of individuals.

Henry Osborn Taylor, who died on April 13 at his home in New York City after a week's illness, was without doubt one of the most distinguished historians and men of letters in America. He was born in New York City on December 5, 1856, and spent the early years of his life there and in the Connecticut countryside, for which he retained an abiding fondness. As a young man he looked forward to a career in practical affairs and even worked for some months in the booming mining town of Austin, Nevada. At the age of seventeen he returned East, seriously applied himself to study, and in 1874 entered Harvard College. He was a student of Charles Eliot Norton and was greatly impressed by his learning, but the teacher who most impressed him was Henry Adams. After his graduation from Harvard, Taylor entered Columbia Law School. He interrupted his studies there to spend a year at Leipzig, where he perfected his German and mastered the difficult discipline of Roman law. This experience in Germany he considered one of the most profitable of his whole life, for it gave him training and insight into new fields that he found most helpful in his later career. He returned to America to complete his legal studies, then took up the practice of law, and in 1884 published his first book and only legal study, *The Law of Private Corporations*. This volume, which developed directly from his German legal training, went through many editions and became in time a standard text for law students. "The good students liked it", Taylor once wrote, "the poor ones found it difficult." This was no lament, merely the first statement of a fact he honestly recognized and often repeated in later years: "All my books have been called difficult." His career as a lawyer came abruptly to an end, and he determined to devote his life to a serious study of the changing ideals of mankind. Insisting always that

he was in no sense endowed with creative powers, he set out to explore man's activities "along that avenue of collective effort known as science, philosophy, religion and art". The ideal was worthy, and a long life, proper training, zeal, physical strength, and economic independence permitted him to realize what he had projected as a young man. The result, as every one knows, was a succession of significant books which brought honor and distinction to their author. *The Ancient Ideals* (1900) came first, followed by *The Classical Heritage of the Middle Ages* (1901), *The Medieval Mind* (1914), and *Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century* (1920), to name only the more important of many volumes from his pen. The idea behind these books was new, at least new to English and American readers, and Taylor opened to thousands knowledge that would have remained the possession of a few specialists had he not written as he did. If the series of books is examined as a whole, it is not difficult to discern that they represent what they truly were for the author: the education of Henry Osborn Taylor. But what a contrast between his "education" and that of his admired teacher, Henry Adams. In Taylor's books the way may be difficult, the flights of fancy and brilliant intuition rare, the parts sometimes better than the whole; yet throughout there is a sense of calm, of repose, with the author exploring step by step, honestly and reverently, the minds of earlier ages. Taylor recognized that he had put himself into his books, and, hard though they may at times be to read, each page reflects his honest searchings and endeavors to make things clear to himself, at least. There is no assumed rusticity, no false modesty, but everywhere a recognition of his own limits, limits he understood and faced squarely if regretfully. In *Human Values and Verities* (1928) he wrote delightfully about his own life and general problems he had long wished to consider. He was fond of literature, well acquainted with that of many languages, and especially sensitive to the wisdom, profundities, and delights of poetry. He was also widely read in philosophy and had great sympathy with its aims and methods, and it was not mere chance that showed him in the mood of the philosopher when he spoke in his presidential address to the American Historical Association in December, 1927, on "A Layman's View of History". Though his career was in no sense an academic one, institutions of learning paid due respect to his great accomplishments. Harvard, Columbia, and Wesleyan each gave him an honorary degree; he was lecturer at Columbia (1898, 1899), Lowell lecturer (1917), and in 1920 he gave the West lectures at Stanford. In 1915 he was elected to the National Institute of Arts and Letters, and last November he succeeded to the chair of the late Sidney Howard in the American Academy of Arts and Letters. It is of interest to note the announcement in the press that he left his residuary estate to Harvard College, the income from this gift to be applied toward the salaries of the faculty at the discretion of the college authorities.

Ramsay Muir, who died on May 4, was one of the best-known of contemporary British historians. Born in 1872, he was educated at University College, Liverpool, and Balliol College, Oxford. Having served an apprenticeship as lecturer, he was professor of history successively in the University of Liverpool (1906-13) and the University of Manchester (1913-21). Entering politics as a Liberal, he was elected M. P. for Rochdale in 1923. He was chairman of the Organization Committee of the Liberal Party in 1930-31, chairman of the National Liberal Federation, 1931-33, and president of the same, 1933-36. Familiarity with the realities of party organization and activities was happily combined with academic knowledge of the British political system to make possible the production of what is perhaps Muir's most important book, *How Britain is Governed* (1930). In this he presented an interpretative survey of the British system of government of his day that challenges comparison with Walter Bagehot's classic, written two generations before. His other publications include *A History of Liverpool* (1907), *Peers and Bureaucrats* (1910), *The Making of British India* (1915), *Nationalism and Internationalism* (1916), *The Expansion of Europe* (1917), *A Short History of the British Commonwealth* (2 vols., 1920-22), and *A Brief History of our own Times* (1934). Muir's historical writings are characterized by sound scholarship, sane judgment, and literary excellence.

Preserved Smith died after an illness of some months on May 15 at Louisville, Kentucky. He was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, on July 22, 1880. He attended Lawrenceville School, was graduated from Amherst College in 1901, and continued his studies in history at Columbia University, the Sorbonne, and the University of Berlin. He was instructor in political science at Williams College for two years, Amherst Fellow in History from 1907 to 1914, lecturer at Harvard University for the year 1919-20, and professor of history at Cornell University from 1922 to 1941. The honorary degree of doctor of letters was conferred on him by two institutions; he was a member of the American Philosophical Society and of the American Historical Association and for some years gave efficient service as a member of the Board of Editors of the *American Historical Review*. Physically frail and from an early date handicapped by serious illness, Preserved Smith confined his activities almost wholly to study, teaching, and writing. As a teacher he was conscientious and exacting; but his lack of physical strength and vitality made lecturing to large classes of undergraduates something of a burden, and he was always happier and more effective in the teaching of graduate students. As a scholar he was well known and highly respected in this country and abroad for his many historical works of distinguished merit. Apart from numerous articles in technical reviews and encyclopedias, his principal works are: *Life and Letters of Martin Luther* (1911); *The Age of the Reformation* (1920); *Erasmus: A Study of*



*his Life, Ideals, and Place in History* (1923); *A Key to the Colloquies of Erasmus* (1927); and *A History of Modern Culture*, of which the first two volumes appeared in 1930 and 1934, respectively, and the third, except for the author's untimely death, would have appeared within the next year or two. All of these works are characterized by sound learning, exact scholarship, and clear and felicitous literary form. The general premises or presuppositions which largely determined Preserved Smith's interpretation of history and his attitude toward political and social questions were rationalist, liberal, and humanitarian. He was familiar with the so-called anti-intellectualist trend of thought, but this approach to all understanding of the conduct of men had little if any influence in determining the quality of his writings. Preserved Smith was a man of integrity, a gentle man, somewhat shy and reserved, but always courteous, friendly, and loyal. More than most professors, he lived within the cloistered academic world but nevertheless managed, better than many of them, to escape the blight of pedantry. He was a cultivated scholar, in the best sense of the term, who devoted his life to the increase and refinement of knowledge, the practice of humane letters, and the promotion of reason and good will among men.

Werner Sombart, professor emeritus (since 1931) of the University of Berlin, died on May 19 at the age of seventy-eight. Born in Emersleben am Harz on January 19, 1863, the son of a self-made industrialist, landowner, and statesman, Sombart studied at the Universities of Berlin and Pisa. His first position was that of counselor of the Chamber of Commerce in Bremen. But soon (1890) he turned to teaching, first at the University of Breslau and after 1906 at the College of Commerce in Berlin. In 1917 he accepted a call to the University of Berlin to fill the chair of his former teacher, Adolf Wagner. Sombart was famous for his vigorous delivery and his lucidity in the classroom. Emil Ludwig once wrote of him, "He was the best teacher I ever encountered." Sombart's two dozen or more books and his scores of articles covered an extremely wide variety of subjects, historical, political, and economic, from *Die römische Campagna* (1888) to his much discussed pamphlet on autarchy (1932). His sympathetic *Sozialismus und soziale Bewegung* (1896) ran to nine editions before it became the two-volume *Der proletarische Sozialismus* in 1929. It was translated into twenty-four languages. His other works, on Marx, Engels, socialism, and the proletariat, similarly attracted wide attention. But to historians Sombart is known chiefly as the historian of capitalism. His *Der moderne Kapitalismus* appeared first in 1902, underwent numerous revisions in successive editions, and was completed by a third volume on *Hochkapitalismus* in 1927. To this central work the author added a number of studies on special topics related to the development of capitalism—war, luxury, the Jews, the bourgeois. Many American students have secured an introduction to his views through the pages of F. L. Nussbaum's *A History of the*



*Economic Institutions of Modern Europe* or through Sombart's own article on "Capitalism" in the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, in which, curiously enough, he does not define capitalism. Much of Sombart's work has been attacked and revised both in its details and in its more general aspects. Henri Sée and others, for example, controverted his thesis that commerce was not a source of capital accumulation in the Middle Ages. There has been, moreover, a growing feeling that Sombart started with preconceived ideas and formulae and then supported them with detailed factual information torn from its context and culled almost at random from different countries and centuries. Nonetheless, even when it merely aroused opposition, Sombart's work served as a great stimulus to thought and research in economic history. His books and the books that answered his have thrown much light on the rise of capitalism. Nor can there be any doubt that Sombart's ingenious and provocative pen gave insights into the relationship of economic with social, cultural, religious, and political factors that have greatly deepened the historian's understanding of the difficult materials with which he deals.

Erik McKinley Eriksson, professor of history in the University of Southern California, was stricken by heart attack while lecturing to his class on May 22. Dr. Eriksson was a native of Iowa, where he was born forty-five years ago. He was a graduate of the State University of Iowa, which granted him the Ph.D. degree in 1922. He served three years as head of the department of history at Lombard College, Galesburg, Illinois, and for four years held a similar position in Coe College, Cedar Rapids, Iowa. Since 1929 he had been on the faculty of the University of Southern California, where he was made full professor of history in 1937. In spite of physical handicap, Dr. Eriksson was a productive scholar and even during the last twenty-four hours of his life dictated ten pages in the final chapter of a book which his collaborators hope soon to finish. He was the author of a dozen books and over seventy articles in magazines and periodicals. His first volumes were on the Jacksonian period: *Official Newspaper Organs in the Elections of 1828-36* (1925) and *Federal Civil Service under President Jackson* (1927). As a research associate of the Iowa State Historical Association he became interested in local institutions and later stressed American social and cultural history. In this field he published books on the history of Coe College (1927-30), Cedar Rapids Collegiate Institute (1928), Parsons Seminary (1930), Scottish Rite Masonry in Cedar Rapids (1928), and the Morgan Affair and Anti-Masonry (1928). He was a Thirty-second Degree Mason. After going to Southern California his attention was directed to recent political and constitutional matters. His later works were *American Constitutional History* (1933), *Constitutional Basis for Judging the New Deal* (1936), and *The Supreme Court and the New Deal* (1940). In addition to these volumes and numerous articles for periodicals, he wrote (1936-38) a daily syndicated column, "You and Your Nation's Affairs", in some three

hundred newspapers, was radio commentator for "The Government in Action" (1936-37), and made numerous addresses to clubs and gatherings. His place will be hard to fill.

Gilbert Giddings Benjamin, professor of history at the University of Southern California, died at his home in Los Angeles on May 28, at the age of sixty-six. Born at Fond du Lac, Wisconsin, on December 6, 1874, he was graduated from Syracuse University in 1899. He received his master's degree at Yale in 1904 and his doctorate, under Edward Gaylord Bourne, in 1907. His teaching career included service at Syracuse during several summer sessions and an instructorship at the College of the City of New York from 1907 to 1911. He was head of the department of history at Allegheny College, Meadville, Pennsylvania, for two years and at the University of Pittsburgh for one year before becoming a professor of history at the State University of Iowa. After fourteen years of service there he accepted a professorship at Southern California, where he completed twelve years of teaching on the day of his death. His field of instruction was modern European history. Dr. Benjamin was a member of Phi Beta Kappa, of the Royal Historical Society of Great Britain, of the Académie d'Histoire internationale, and of the American Historical Association. His doctoral dissertation on the Germans in Texas was published in 1910, and he was a co-author with Dr. H. G. Plum of *Modern and Contemporary European Civilization* (1923). He was also the author of articles and reviews in various historical magazines. Not a prolific writer, Dr. Benjamin exercised a wide influence through his direction of graduate work and an immense personal interest in his profession. He was noted for his ability to interpret the older generation of historical giants, among whom he had grown up, to younger colleagues in the field.

Dr. Max Farrand, president of the American Historical Association last year and known to all of its members by reputation, has resigned as director of the Huntington Library, a position which he has held for the last fourteen years. He plans to devote himself to research and writing. Dr. Farrand retains a connection with the Huntington Library as research associate and as such will complete his edition of the autobiography of Benjamin Franklin, a work upon which he has been engaged for some time.

Frank Maloy Anderson, professor of history in Dartmouth College since 1914, retired in June. Professor Anderson has been a frequent and valued contributor to the *American Historical Review* during the last forty-five years and has taken an active part in the affairs of the American Historical Association, having served on its Council and on many of its committees.

Professor Isaac J. Cox, chairman of the department of history in Northwestern University, will retire in September after twenty-two years of serv-

ice at Northwestern and fifteen at the University of Cincinnati. On April 23 a dinner in his honor was given at Evanston, organized by the members of the history department of Northwestern and attended by representatives of the historical profession and of the local community. On this occasion a group of Professor Cox's graduate students presented him with a series of essays that had grown out of his historical seminar during the last twenty years.

Dr. Edward P. Alexander, secretary and treasurer of the New York State Historical Association and editor of *New York History*, has been appointed superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. He succeeds Dr. Joseph Schafer, who died last January.

The following appointments are noted: *Brown University*, Hans Rothfels of the University of Königsberg as visiting professor; *University of California* (Berkeley), Raymond James Sontag of Princeton University as Sidney Hellman Ehrman Professor of History and Fulmer Mood of the University of Redlands as assistant professor in the School of Librarianship; *Colorado State Teachers College*, George Harmon Knoles of Stanford University as professor; *Cornell University*, C. W. de Kiewiet of the State University of Iowa as professor; *Dartmouth College*, John C. Adams of Princeton University as assistant professor; *Indiana University*, John D. Barnhart of Louisiana State University and Roger W. Shugg of Princeton University as associate professors; *Johns Hopkins University*, Samuel Eliot Morison of Harvard University as visiting professor for the second semester; *Lehigh University*, William Appleton Aiken as assistant professor; *University of Nevada*, P. G. Auchampaugh of Blue Ridge College as assistant professor; *Northwestern University*, James F. King; *Pasadena College*, Paul T. Culbertson of the University of Oregon as associate professor; *Scripps College*, Geneva Drinkwater of Vassar College as visiting professor; *Smith College*, Carl Becker of Cornell University as William Allan Neilson Research Professor for the second semester; *Wellesley College*, Georgia Robison of Hollins College and E. Faye Wilson of the University of Maine as assistant professors; *Wells College*, William Koren, jr., of Princeton University as assistant professor; *Wesleyan University*, N. M. Pusey as assistant professor in the department of classics, teaching ancient history.

Announcement is made of the following promotions: *Amherst College*, Sarell Everett Gleason to be associate professor; *Brooklyn College*, Meta E. Schutz to be assistant professor; *Bryn Mawr College*, Helen Taft Manning to be professor and head of the department; *University of Colorado*, James G. Allen to be associate professor; *Dartmouth College*, A. L. Demaree and H. W. Hill to be professors; *George Washington University*, A. Curtis Wilgus to be professor; *Harvard University*, Sterling Dow and Donald Cope McKay to be associate professors; *Hunter College*, Beatrice F. Hyslop

to be assistant professor; *University of Maryland*, Donald M. Dozer to be assistant professor; *University of Mississippi*, J. W. Silver to be associate professor; *University of Nevada*, Charles Roger Hicks to be head of the department and Anatole G. Mazour to be associate professor; *New York University*, Henry B. Parkes to be assistant professor; *University of North Carolina*, George E. Mowry to be assistant professor and Carl H. Pegg to be associate professor; *Princeton University*, Robert R. Palmer to be assistant professor; *Smith College*, Vera Brown Holmes to be chairman of the department for a period of three years; *University of Southern California*, Donald Rowland to be professor; *Stanford University*, David Harris and Maxwell Hicks Savelle to be professors; *Vassar College*, Evalyn A. Clark and Charles C. Griffin to be associate professors; *University of Washington*, Giovanni Costigan and Merrill Jensen to be associate professors; *Williams College*, Charles R. Keller to be associate professor; *University of Wisconsin*, Chester V. Easum and Gaines Post to be professors.

The following leaves of absence are noted: *Columbia University*, Charles W. Cole and John A. Krout, for the second semester; *Duke University*, John T. Lanning, for the second semester, and Dorothy M. Quynn, for the year; *University of Mississippi*, B. I. Wiley, for the year; *Smith College*, William D. Gray, for the second semester; *Vassar College*, Geneva Drinkwater, for the year; *University of Washington*, Merrill Jensen, for the year.

To the list of visiting professors and instructors for the current summer sessions given in our last issue (p. 761) should be added the following: *Arkansas*, Charles A. Timm; *Florida*, G. Leighton LaFuze, for the second term; *Montana*, W. Turrentine Jackson; *New York State Teachers College*, Louis Knott Koontz; *Purdue*, Thomas E. Ennis; *Southern California*, Franklin C. Palm.

Announcement has been made at Smith College that Professor Hans Kohn has been named Sydenham Clark Parsons Professor of History.

Charles W. David, professor of history at Bryn Mawr and director of libraries and professor of history at the University of Pennsylvania, has been appointed Marjorie Walter Goodhart Professor of History at Bryn Mawr.



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*The titles of articles are printed in italics; the titles of books reviewed are in quotation marks, except where they are listed under general headings. The reviewer of a book is designated by (R); when necessary to distinguish author from editor (A) is used.*

- Abbott, W. C., "Essays in Mod. Eng. Hist." in honor of, 760; (R) 896, 978.
- 'Abd-al-Malik, Buṭrus, *et al.*, "Descriptive Cat. of the Garrett Collection of Arabic MSS. in the Princeton Univ. Lib.", 184.
- Aberdeen, George Hamilton-Gordon, 4th earl of, Corresp. with Princess Lieven, 1832-54, II, ed. by Parry, 188.
- Adams, J. T., "Empire on the Seven Seas: The Brit. Empire, 1784-1939", 708; and Coleman, R. V., (eds.) "Dict. of Am. Hist.", 656.
- Adams, John Quincy: Brooks, Diplomacy and the Borderlands: The Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819, 676.
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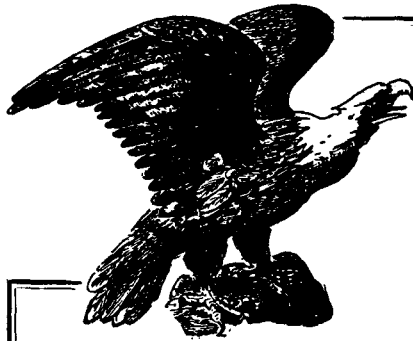
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